

FILE DESCRIPTION
BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT WEATHERMAN

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 30

SERIALS 2163

THRU

2220

FBI

Date 11/16/67

transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)
SUBJECT: COMINFIL
STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-C

Remytels 11/3 through 11/9/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of a LHM which sets forth information concerning an SDS sponsored demonstration at Northern Illinois University (NIU), Illinois, during the period 11/7 through 8/67.

Copies of the attached LHM are also being furnished to the 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, and the USA's Office, Chicago, in view of their interest in this matter.

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., 114

RAO (ISD-CAS, CB) - 11/16/67

DATE FORW: 11/16/67

HOW FORW: 11/16/67

BY: [Signature]

REC-107

3 - Bureau (Encl. 10) (LHM)
1 - Chicago

EL: pag
(4)

C. Bishop

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, 100-40903
File No.

Chicago, Illinois
November 16, 1967

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

b7c

On November 3, 1967, [redacted]
[redacted] Security Department, Northern Illinois
University (NIU), De Kalb, Illinois, advised that David
Clark, Chairman of the SDS Chapter located at NIU had
applied for and received permission for the NIU SDS Chapter
to conduct a picket demonstration and debate against the
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), representatives who
would be on the NIU Campus November 7 through 9, 1967,
for the purpose of interviewing prospective employees.

b7c

[redacted] further advised
that in the SDS application to conduct the aforementioned
picket demonstration, it was indicated that the SDS would
not attempt to stop anyone from being interviewed by the
CIA representatives but would, however, attempt to dis-
courage NIU students from being interviewed.

b7c

On November 7 - 9, 1967, [redacted]
[redacted] Security Department, NIU, De Kalb,
Illinois, advised that the SDS Chapter at NIU sponsored
a picket demonstration in the vicinity of Lowden Hall
NIU, which protested the presence of CIA recruiters on the
NIU Campus during the period November 7 through 9, 1967.

b7c

[redacted] further advised
that on November 7, 1967, approximately 18 to 20 different
individuals picketed in the immediate vicinity of Lowden
Hall throughout the day; on November 8, 1967, approximately
10 to 15 different individuals picketed in the immediate
vicinity of Lowden Hall throughout the day and on November
9, 1967, approximately five individuals picketed in the

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to be distributed outside your agency.

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SEP 20 1972

ENCLOSURE

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)**

in the immediate vicinity of Lowden Hall from 11:30 a.m.
to 2:00 p.m. at which time picket demonstration was terminated.

b7c [REDACTED] also advised
that during the entire course of this picket demonstration,
no debates were held inasmuch as the demonstration lacked
support. Elliott added that also during the course of their
three day SDS sponsored demonstration, the demonstrators
carried signs protesting CIA's presence on the NIU Campus
and some of these signs read as follows:

"This Picket is not Financed by CIA,"
"Conspiracy in Asia", "Big Brother is
Here and Recruiting"

b7c [REDACTED] stated that
the aforementioned demonstration was considered a failure.
The demonstration was peaceful with no incidents or arrests.

The following agencies were advised of the afore-
mentioned matter:

b7c [REDACTED] 113th MI Group,
Evanston, Illinois;

b7c [REDACTED] United States
Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois;

b7c [REDACTED] United States
Attorney's Office, Chicago, Illinois.

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

APPENDIX

1
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

WALLACE F. BENNETT
UTAH

TOM C. KOWALSKI
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

November 20, 1967

COMMITTEE ON
FINANCE
BANKING AND CURRENCY

JOINT COMMITTEE ON
ATOMIC ENERGY
ENERGY PRODUCTION

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
STANDARDS AND CONSUMER

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I very much appreciate your letter of November 16 replying to mine seeking information about the organization known as The Students for a Democratic Society - General

I recognize the necessity for maintaining the sanctity of your files, and I am grateful for such information as you were able to give me.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Wallace F. Bennett

Wallace F. Bennett

WFB:jb

*Reply - Mr. Eck
11/22*

REC-73 EX-103

100-439048-2164

NOV 22 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

70 NOV 29 1967

35 NOV 22 1967

EXP. PROC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR (100-40803)

DATE: 11/20/67

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40803)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - C: SEDITION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re O-7 dated 11/7/67 with attached letter
from Assistant Attorney General J. WALTER YEAGLEY
dated 11/3/67.

In referenced letter from Assistant Attorney
General YEAGLEY, it was stated that the "Anti-Draft Resolution"
as passed during the SDS National Council (NC) Meeting held
in December, 1966, appeared in the booklet entitled,
"Guide to Conscientious Objection" and that it was desired
whether this portion of the SDS program is actually being
carried out.

As the Bureau is aware, the Chicago Office
conducted an extensive investigation regarding the SDS
"Anti-Draft Resolution" as passed by the SDS NC at this
meeting in Berkeley, California during December, 1966 and
this investigation failed to develop any information that the
SDS has actually carried out the program as contained in the
aforementioned resolution. The results of this investigation
was incorporated in a letterhead memorandum, dated September
1967, captioned "COMINFIL, SDS, SEDITION."

CLASSIFIED BY 1483 8477/AB
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
pg 1 para 4

2 Bureau (RM)

REC 46-100-439048-9

1 - Chicago

ELIS b6

66 JAN 8 1968

MAR 7 - 1968

JAN 4 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

INCCM2 EEB5 81068

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-40903

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Chicago Office is continuing to follow
this matter closely and will keep the Bureau advised.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Date 11/17/67

To:

BU 100-437048

☐ Director

FILE

CG 100-11703

Select Service Desk Unit

Attn: Social Investigative Unit

CONFIL, STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

☐ SAC Division

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

RE:

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials

to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

SI-100

REC-21

100-437048-2166

NOT RECORDED

18 NOV 28 1967

Attached are two copies of New Leads Notebook
Volume 2, # 38, issue of 11/6/67. These copies
do not have to be retained for evidentiary
purposes.

Encl. ENCLOSURE
REGISTERED

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

SAC

Office

Chicago

54 DEC 4 1967

R. E. Kin

P.O. Box
5751

Chicago

Noted

has been told by snail-paced news agency.

The most of demonstrators, with a few exceptions, began like others, hastily abandoned at other parts of the country, the Berkeley Stop the Draft West was demonstrating. Starting from the Oakland Industrial Center while others spoke of burning in their first march, the Oct. 15 afternoon a parade set off at the suburban center, with demonstrators openly and publicly arrested. Administration leaders led to a stronger spirit as Thursday an Alameda County Superior has been granted building the use of the California for an all-right march to on the first as the grounds that on would be the Berkeley activists. The demonstrators was a doubling of the expected number. Spelling the new "they" rally, and immediately those attending have been to march on the Oakland suburban center. But the Stop the Draft strategists had underestimated and underestimated their opponents, their resistance, and their actions. Expecting to be held away from the industrial center by barriers, and planning activity around the, the marchers unexpectedly found themselves surrounded by the industrial center, with barricades or traps in sight. The police were moved to a four-story garage diagonally across from the industrial center, and the demonstrators, their objectives of eyes began to attack as the demonstrators who moved around the industrial center, the people set down, waiting (glorified) to be arrested. But the Oakland police weren't interested in arrests; they were not for blood. They engaged, spraying chemical mace and tear gas, the police drove the demonstrators away by their brutal force, anyone who sat or lay prone in their path was beaten savagely until they finally heaved out and, to anger and frustration, the remaining demonstrators gathered into the streets, filling intersections and burning up traffic for several miles, before returning home. The toll alone 24 seriously injured, over 60 arrested.

stop to deny others want to attend for some rally at UC Berkeley. At the rally, the Stop the Draft leaders advised the thousands, the leaders, the protesters, and decided to call off any action for the following day. But by 8 a.m. Thursday over a thousand people

police in the Bronx zone, officers use eyes of all the demonstrators and cops a third ran off the bus, through the lines of cops, and joined the picket line, first running to the rear and being safely reached by the front. The demonstrators left in his efforts, willing for tomorrow.

circumstances was appears to all, down. Mobility was the word. No sitting, no running. Be flexible, improvising, don't attack the cops, but be aggressively defensive.

The Direction of Resistance: The Role of the Student Movement

by Robert Purdie

During the past years several trends have developed which are important to SDS. An understanding of these trends and the actions concerning them could greatly affect the direction of the movement. The experience of struggle in the many areas in which SDS has been involved has led to a more profound understanding of the nature of the enemy which we are fighting and of the nature of the struggle which we must wage if we are to defeat this enemy.

The long, hard, often embarrassing experience of white people in the black movement has led to some very important insights which at this point seem obvious but which were not always so. Many people now in SDS were imprisoned in the fight to integrate public facilities, to give black people the right to vote, to develop community projects in the South. In that fight they learned something about what liberation means and why it is essential that black people control the black movement. They also learned that the society they were part of was incapable of granting the black people's demands for liberation. We learned the lessons clearly because it was easier for us to recognize

with other oppressed people than it was for us to recognize our own oppression. Since we have become a white movement which sees its purpose as organizing other whites into a movement for collective liberation. We have changed from a liberal concern with other's problems to a radical concern with our own liberation. We used the rhetoric of building a white movement while in fact we got bogged down in our own structure, time and time again. We had not yet learned what it means to be part of a liberation force. We talked about the need to organize the working class while remaining in fact a campus-based group. It is important to understand only that happened.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF WHITE DISSENT

The consciousness of white dissent was and is concentrated in the student population. The possibilities for developing a movement there were much better than in any other segment of the white population. It was necessary for us to find a radical identity on the campus

before we could realistically think about moving into the community. However, the idea of moving out of the university community and into the poor or working class community has not yet developed a mass appeal within the student movement because people cannot leave the confidence of being able to relate to essentially strange communities until they have the confidence that they can relate to their own community.

In the course of the development of this student movement many chapters have developed into very effective buffer zones for radicals to retreat into. Essentially we set up a barrier in our minds between ourselves and the people we were supposed to be organizing. We developed communities of people which could be self-contained socially and which in many cases ended up self-contained politically. We began to talk about "student power" as if it were analogous to "black power" and saw ourselves as organizing our own people, i.e., students, to control their own institutions, the university. From there we believed we could move into the community at large and effect change.

Continued on page 8

November 6, 1967

October 16-22

Wednesday demonstrators once again massed at Lafayette Park before dawn, this time deciding to maintain a peaceful picket line around the abortion center. Some people were beginning to wear National ONBC supplied their camera crews with helmets & gas masks had been severely beaten the previous day), some carried shields of plywood picket signs. Most returned confused, but knowing other "Tuesday" mistakes, not having other news. Staying on the sidewalks, continuously moving, the pickets were allowed to demonstrate relatively unopposed (although some were sporadic, unrepresentative, disruptive—i.e., police fines had to arrive

Friday morning was dark, but cold, and breezy. Thousands were pouring into Lafayette Park by 8 a.m. At least one in ten wore raincoats, carried plastic bags packed with reinforced plywood, many were lined on all exposed parts as protection

11/11/67 11:11 AM

reveling in the knowledge that we would

be badly beaten and arrested. But during the past three days we had seen a great deal of blood, over 250 arrests, over 60 serious injuries. Today we had signed something, different—we had taken, and held down, Oakland for the past four hours, we had seen the cops back away from us, we had seen the delicious black community begin to overcome their, or at least distrust of us and join in our actions, and we no longer felt we had to prove ourselves by getting clubbed and beaten. Our response to the radio announcement was to cheer with pride at having been dubbed a riot, and then declaring "OK, we've got a half hour to blockade as many more intersections as possible." Then let's split. We'll have a victory march up Telegraph back to Berkeley. Not only the sanctity of property, and the sanctity (intimidation) of cops had been destroyed that day, we had begun to establish new goals, new criteria for success in what were clearly the early battles of a long, long war.

new left notes

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1508 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. 60612 except July and August when publication is bi-weekly. Phone 312/664-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1 per year for members, \$10 a year for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of the writers. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editors, Carol Mathias and Lyn Knapik.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Davidson, Inter-organizational secretary; Robert Furdan, Internal Education secretary; Mike Spiegel, National secretary.
National Office: 1508 W. Madison St., 508 Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312/664-3874)
New York City: 41 Union Square West, rm. 426 NYC, NY 10003 (212/675-5550)
Midwest Regional Coordinating Committee: PO Box 5721, River Campus Station, Rochester, N.Y.
Southern California: PO Box 85396, Los Angeles, California 90077
New England: 881 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139
Washington D.C. 1779 Lumber Pl., N.W.

Vol. 2, No. 38

let the people decide

Nov. 6, 1967

National Liberation Front (NLF). The committee was founded on October 14, coinciding with Resistance Day throughout the U.S. It is a coalition of various groups, the NLF, the history of varying nations, the NLF committee has set its goal as the consolidation and development of "friendship between the South Vietnamese and American people." The committee is based on the assumption that the Johnson government is the common enemy of both peoples, who otherwise would tear each other to shreds.

It sees U.S. imperialism as the enemy of all peoples, including Americans. The liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese people, the struggle of the American people against the Johnson government's policy of aggressive war and the world people's struggle against U.S. imperialism to defend peace are closely related to one another, according to the committee's appeal.

The committee indicates its administration for the U.S. peace movement:

"The committee highly values the American people's movement against the U.S. government's policy of aggression in Vietnam, against racial discrimination, for improvement of living conditions and for freedom and democracy in the United States. The committee considers this movement as a coordinated action of the two peoples against their common enemy."

Appealing to the "urgent requirement of the present situation," the committee sets its aims as consolidating and developing these close relations and the solidarity and friendship between the Vietnamese and American peoples, and promoting and coordinating their struggle for the interests of the two peoples and for peace and security in the world.

Far from portraying American soldiers as stereotyped "jacks" who must be killed, the committee indicates its sympathy with American GIs, fighting in Vietnam. It is in marked contrast with, for example, the American author John

misuse death on a last thousands of miles from their fatherland, causing harm to so many wives and children and dismemberment to many families.

The committee calls on the American people and "on the forces in the world which stand for peace, independence, and democracy and progress, in particular the peoples of South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand" (the countries giving military assistance to the U.S. in Vietnam) "to stop further their movement...against the mobilization of manpower and material resources for the dirty aggressive war."

Called by Mr. Ho Thi, a pharmacist, the committee is diverse in composition, and includes a preacher, two monks, a painter, a poet, a student, and an actress. Several of the small Vietnamese nationalities are included. The committee intends to establish permanent representative offices in Prague, Algiers and Beirut with its present headquarters c/o Thuan Van Chung, Nebraska 1, Prague, Czechoslovakia.

To implement its work, the committee has set itself six tasks, including material assistance to American soldiers and personnel in South Vietnam who wish to escape back to the U.S. or any other place. Its other tasks are as follows:

- 1.) To create "national understanding" between Americans and Vietnamese "in all spheres: history, literature, national art and struggle";
- 2.) To "establish relations with and contact all progressive organizations and individuals in the United States";
- 3.) To "encourage the South Vietnamese people to coordinate with the American people, in the interests of both";
- 4.) To help South Vietnamese soldiers, sailors, airmen, and A/VN soldiers "who wish to acquire themselves with the American people's struggle";
- 5.) To expand relations with countries around the world "who sympathize with and support the just struggle of both peoples."

Special: 1174 Joe F-1

10110834

OAKLAND

10



The University of Chicago will have panels of discussion on THE UNIVERSITY AND THE MILITARY. Panels will be Nov. 18, 11; and 12 at the University. Speakers include: Caryl Chessman, from Viet-Report; Judith Cohen, IPS, Carl Davidson, SDS, Christopher Lasch, NYU, Michael Lockyer, MACLA, John McDermott, Viet-Report; David Ransome, MID-Pan, Observer; James Ridgway, The New Republic; Dave Rubin, Cornell; and Sel Stern, Ramparts. For more information, write:

Mail to: University of Chicago SDS

Ida Noyes Hall
1212 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Name _____

Address

21

I plan to attend the conference (\$5.00 registration fee enclosed) I plan to attend, but will pay at the conference I cannot attend but I want to receive working papers

I will need housing for Fri - Sat nights (bring your sleeping bag) and make checks payable to U. of C. SDS

National Liberation

INTERVIEW

...are a little bit more dry and more...
 A demonstration seems to me when it is not something, preferably, when it demonstrates something in a context that is not normally seen. In a society such as ours, where advertising, education, public relations, group dynamics, operations research systems, analysis, and so on and so forth are all generally directed toward making reality, demonstrations of reality are one of the most valuable institutions we have. At the University of Wisconsin, then, we have just had two of the most educational weeks in the university's entire history.

Some people say the use of force is how we change the social course. The use of force, you surely know, is how we have the status quo.

It is a funny sort of body made up about the time that good squads were being used to break up the heads of Ford in the districts. It is also a body made up of what has been demonstrated at Wisconsin these last two weeks. On Thursday the afternoon, even before the chattering and gauding, the company which makes the napalm used to stop Vietnam from falling into the hands of the Vietnamese carried on its recruiting of well-trained cadres habitually guarded by men with guns. And on Wednesday, when students made the statement, "I will put my body in the way of this process recruiting, interviewing, and the other general gun-protected processes that go into trying Vietnamese," these same men with guns used hand, field, books, clubs, and gas to make the statement, "That's all very well, but the general processes must be allowed to go on."

Like any good demonstration, this one, by the students and more importantly, by the university's liberal administration, police, and the newspapers has a certain opalescence: one can examine its many facets: different ones sparkle as one contemplates it in different ways.

use is told. The bombing is educational. It is to inform them of the fact that America will win, to improve the morale of the Saigon government, to persuade Hanoi to negotiate, America being a country where the everyday realities are made up of evanescent images and myths convenient to their perspective. It is difficult for any American in a position of authority to conceive of a hard fact or an unpleasant reality. That a student may wish, deliberately, to do something that is not easy and convenient, or that the Vietnamese may have needs, beliefs and needs which resist American systems analysis, is simply beyond the capacity of the belief structure of liberal America.

It is difficult to tell why the police are the greatest issues involved in protest at Wisconsin: perhaps it is just that students and professors thing the only outrageous aspect of the whole affair is the fact that the immunity of the middle class from violence was violated. While this is of course bad, I mean, it's nice that at least a few people in the world are normally safe from violence of one sort or another — it would seem to be almost the least important question involved in the whole affair.

Dow Chemical, after all, has announced that a recent 150 student asked for interviews with them. Presumably they have decided to Dow because of the publicity the company has had — the psychology is the same as that of people who rushed out to be tattooed with "Born to Raise Hell" after Richard Speck was arrested. One would think there might be some question about the adequacy of a university which turns out that kind of graduate.

The adequacy of the university is in question in some other ways too. This "lifting and winnowing" university has defined itself as impartial in the conflict between Dow and students who think Dow, and the war machine of which it is a part, evil. Yet there is a point at which impartiality — the willingness to give equal

People began to surge up the hill over the already torn-down fences to the steps of the Pentagon. We faced the disturbed servants of the marshals, the young soldiers. But there were also the U.S. Marshals protecting them from us. Just they were not alone. They were the henchmen of the Pentagon, of the whole Imperialist domestic system, from Mississippi to Detroit to Washington. They had clubs and all we had was evil disbelievers and some of us had the concept of resistance.

By the time the crowd had moved closer to the magic white line which was to protect the Pentagon from the people and the world, the U.S. Marshals decided that the white line was out and the line of marching was in. So... they pushed forward, using billy clubs as their forward-thrust action signal. People started to panic and they ran on another moving down the stairs against a solid wall of people. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE seemed to be flowing in the face of the enemy. Most people did not know how to defend themselves. They were not prepared for physical confrontation. What people learned in Oakland in one week, people in Washington had to start learning in an hour. People were ready to be led from the slaughter.

Some people had bullborns, a sense of political responsibility, and a sense of resistance action. Tom Hall and Greg Calvert of SDS were able to talk to the crowd and to give them a sense of unity. People became aware of the need to work with one another so that they could maintain control of the area already occupied, the steps and areas in front of the Pentagon. Resistance began to develop as a real kind of strategy and as a particular tactic. People talked arms and, after a brief period, set down, — not to be moved. The sense of fear which had earlier pervaded the crowd had changed. People were still afraid of the billy clubs and the rifle butts, but at the same time they were not afraid to resist this aggression by the federal marshals and troops. Many of our brothers and sisters

"We are not terrorizing, we are against terrorism. We are revolutionary organization. We are not carrying out armed actions-terrorist actions. If you prefer to call them that — their purpose is to eliminate mass struggle, not to replace it. It was not the military attack as an individual whom we attacked. It was his role."

John Vassardale
 In May '68, 44-39-7-72, 1968
 Asked by Gilly why the head of the U.S. Military mission was attached to a company in Guatemala City, Jacob Grawman replied:
 "We are not terrorizing, we are against terrorism. We are revolutionary organization. We are not carrying out armed actions-terrorist actions. If you prefer to call them that — their purpose is to eliminate mass struggle, not to replace it. It was not the military attack as an individual whom we attacked. It was his role."

Pricker...-sustainable Will be prepared to travel, to help establish joint steps, tribal prisoners, obtain equipment for SDS
 Writer: Art Rosenberg
 Box 57
 Ritten, N.Y. 13871

NUMBERS GAME REVISITED

According to reliable sources, the "Numbers Game" story last week was a fragment of someone's imagination. NLM is in the process of checking out this information.



From Madison, Wisconsin
RCME OBSERVATIONS

I had never seen tear gas used until Wednesday, October 18. When I did, it was at first only a part of smoke thrown by some army and a crowd of people. At first it had something of the consistency of a flash of powder and it was on the second truck of an old school bus, the scene is flickering, disorienting and surreal. Fifteen seconds later we find out what it is all about. It is tear gas or more precisely, it is a mixture of chemicals, the cloud of gas is directed to the eyes. There was no sudden path, no sudden change of being burned, no sudden change of being blinded, no sudden change of consciousness. There is simply a reporter trying to see what is happening and trying to see

The administration, for its part, is not normally given to handing out stupid and unenforceable directions. In fact, the smoothness with which the university cooperates with Dow, the state government and the whole American machine is testimony that they normally have a good grasp of the world within which they have to work, and of which sorts of procedures and directives get things done smoothly and comfortably. Their basic mistake was in not knowing that there are people who do not think of this mode of operation as the highest ideal to which man can aspire. Because they are not used to doing things efficiently and smoothly, they could not grasp the idea that there are people who think that sand should be thrown into a piece of the machinery when that machinery is doing something evil. There has been a silent march to protect the use of clubs and gas by the police. But there has been little effort by those not and the wearing marchers to protect anything other than the alleged fact that policemen are animals. There are some among them who realize the essential idocy of this supposition - the idea that if all policemen were nice guys who could keep their tempers then suddenly the world would be all right - but not many.

Some few argue that the violence used by the police is a natural extension of the violence used by America against Vietnam, a horrendous and on the face of it foolish sort of analysis. It was interesting in the light of this thought to meet one of the riot police in his and rural habitat, mixing milk shakes in his mother's restaurant. He joked with some of the demonstrators. He joked with some rather as the Atlanta police chief joked with Barbara Deming when she returned to visit him after spending some months in his jail, without any recognition that there had been a conflict between him and the kids he had used a club on. To him there had been simply a role to play which he had played and he played

aboard and dangerous. As in Germany in the 1920's, the U.S. Puritan and One equity could not control, so today in wartime, the university as an institution cannot exist if it tries to one fabric to contain mechanical engineering and classify research, social work and non-traditional on open housing, arts and letters and the executives of the war machine. (To a Dean Kaufman, Chancellor Sewell, or President Harrington, the most important thing about this assertion is clear: if the university as an institution is clear, the authoritarian state, racism and the blooded military it would suffer as an institution. Hands would be cut off; politicians would attack; angry veterans and/or buildings. To which one says "My naturally." We are of course in a war. In an insane society, surrounded by a large number of dangerous people. To oppose this state of affairs is of course dangerous and inconvenient. Which is why the university as an institution is in favor of all kinds of applications, leaving individuals to bear the risks of atrocity - when the university as an institution does not have been fear-gassed or clubbed.

And which is why it's a little silly to lay the local police force, rather than protesting and replacing the men and structures of power whose will they carry out.

David Lloyd Jones
resistant from CONNECTIONS

November 4, 1967 New Left Notes 3

did not go to jail or were not beaten because they were protected by their comrades. Due to the communications system, people know what was happening and could then make a sense of solidarity among themselves, and with their brothers and sisters below them, on the other side of the wall, and even with those who were not physically present.

Because of the general feeling of growing unity and strength, a victory was won for the movement. About 15:30 Sunday morning, the troops, spurred on by the marchers, advanced slowly in a wedge formation, which was designed to divide and break out lines. When people would not move, the clubs and rifle butts quickly came down on the heads of the front lines. But the lines did not break. The lines were pushed back only because they were physically removed, to the police weapons. The battle was fought in terms of ground gained, we lost the ground and that battle. But in terms of building a real base of the resistance movement, we won. The victory was the people's. It was now the time to rebuild, to go home and to organize around the real issues, the repression and oppression of the people by their government of imperialists. Those who remained remained for moral protest and grounds for militancy.

The police movement as such was beaten, nearly to the death. But in that defeat the resistance arose as a political force. The government seemed to be afraid, evidenced by its violation of the rules and boundaries which it had issued for their own benefit, not the Marshall's. The resistance movement can and will feed itself on the fear, and the consequent repression of its people. The people of the U.S. and the world will gain freedom only

RESISTANCE

and go back home to the city environs, or back to school, or join the Army and die in Vietnam; but these "natives," who look over the area at the turn of the century, when the blacks moved up to a place called Harlem, can't move even though many would like to.

They see the hippies moving about in herds and, to them, they seem to be alien, here, vulgar, morbid, and freakish. These older people are looking out of their slum windows, and out from their sad, broken eyes, with a puritanically moved mind, as immigrant perspective. Their essence is intrinsic in their outlook. Rarely can they laugh at these kids.

There are no social or public levels at which the old dwellers and the hippies meet, though they sit in Tompkins Square Park together. There is the obvious division of age between them, but this does not completely explain the hostility the old timers feel for the new comers. Somehow the hippies represent, in urgent-sym-bol, the absurd frustration of the even more absurd contemporary scene, in all aspects, in America.

They seem to be saying, when viewed by the old white dwellers, the blacks, and the Puerto Ricans, "We choose to be poor like you, because we hate our parents and their values." But the hippies are not of them. These jammed-in people, broke or poor, face the reality of these visitors with the grim despair and rage of strained monkeys that have been experimented on. The hardest thing in the world for them to imagine is that somebody would want to live in the old fire-trap buildings with rats, roaches, and blackness surrounding them. The old timers, the algeers, the Puerto Ricans know that they would move out tomorrow if they could, being literally exposed to the bottom of the republic's life. The Polish, German, and Italians possess a hard-core amoral proper realism that, in terms of American ghetto psychology, sustains them only very thinly after being exposed daily to the

know what being black means in a white society, and it fills them with hatred for whites. This misery may be repressed but it exists in the deep wells of the black soul. Or it may be articulated and open. Indeed, it may empty itself in organized and armed self-defense.

(The hippies have not, in any real sense, reached the social consciousness of the blacks upturn. They know with human responsibility the nature of hell everyday.)

On the Lower East Side, the blacks, who for the most part have an orb of their own, have no more a realistic approach to the true nature of the social, political and moral crisis in the city than do the hippies.

One could go on down the line and list many ways in which the hippies and the blacks below 14th Street are alike. One is white, the other black, and the distance between them in color exists but isn't nearly as great as the cultural stretch between the old timers and the "flower people" is. You have seen them: long hair, sandals, mod clothes. These sub-dressed blacks and these lukewarm whites dress alike. The blacks are even imitating the whites imitate them. Nonetheless, people, black and white, find it more and more difficult to relate to each other. The morbid inhumanity of our times!

The Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are so remote from the old dwellers, the blacks, and the hippies that it isn't even funny. Sometimes the hippies will try to make a friendly link with the Puerto Ricans, but the language and cultural gaps draw a silent line. Puerto Ricans who are junkies, however, around the area of 3rd Avenue do communicate completely with hippies and blacks who are also junkies or prostitutes. The old timers aren't in on this sad connection because they aren't junkies; but that is another story.

The immigrants or their children have occupied the area longer than the new blacks. The Puerto Ricans came next,

they don't know anything about the caliber of psychic pain F. feels. They may march with their black brothers in protest against racial oppression but they do not know how and F.'s heart is when he is charged double prices because he's Puerto Rican. On the other hand, was born in New York City, and has never been outside it, not even for a vacation. He is twenty-eight years old and feels bitter, frustrated and allied with "my black brothers" against the devil white man, and he spends his time in what the hippies call "spade hangouts." He aches for a revolution, and his eyes burn when he tells you about it. "It really broke my heart to see the Puerto Ricans upturn side with the Italians during the Harlem riots. They've learned their lesson, man. This will never happen again. The Italians are not our friends. We know this now."

But I think about my hippy friend who used to visit me and say, "Man, I turned on today, and I was out of it for twelve hours. Wow!" and I look at him and realize that there is something strangely unreal about him. His human level does not go as deep as C.'s. His biggest concern was with staying out of the Army—he didn't want to die in the war. He had no other concern about the war. Couldn't he feel anything concerning the genocide of the Vietnamese or black people in this country?

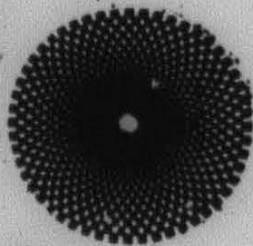
He wrote fairly good verse, and possessed a mild though laughable discontentment with the hard monde from which he came. He wasn't looking at all of the social implications, like one of my seventeen-year old black students in Harlem was, though he was weakly rejecting his parents' vision of the world.

Many of the xazy hippies insist that there is nothing in the middle-class adult world from which they have stopped working toward worth growing up to accept. Many of them go through the changes of living in herds in dirty apartments, really quite happy even though they say they are not, in a world about to be destroyed.

wandering youths, the difference between the white father, is so personal and suggests that it has no basis for corresponding to political values, except in the immediate sense that all human beings are social animals. We can't do anything with such heterogeneity.

The divisions between the people in this area I have constantly been trying to show can further be seen in the fact that, no matter how loud and happy the music, and the hippies are, or how free the pot is or how reluctant the cops are to invade the scene in Tompkins Square Park.





HIPPIES

on the East Village



It is very difficult to try to classify a human being as a hippie; the moment you focus closely on a person you come up with precisely that—a human being, who has some things, though not all things, in common with several thousand other people floating around the country, facing similar problems, jammed in on them by the materialistic, capitalistic, super-structures of our black and white society, the total reality of the entire man-made world, in general and in particular.

The word "hippy" comes from that very misunderstood Negro word "hip," which the jazz musicians invented in the 1940's. The psychology behind it was very simple: it meant that, from a black man's point of view, "The white society makes me to be a member of the world, and makes me of my status in terms of the social structure itself, so here is my rebellion for all this bullshit: I AM OTHER." It was a way of protesting against the world of materialism, a black rebellion. But as the East tells us, it never fails: the majority in a society usually takes its social leaders from the adolescents. We had no exception. By the end of these years, the young white children, who are the ones that are most susceptible to the new, abstract, immature that the current

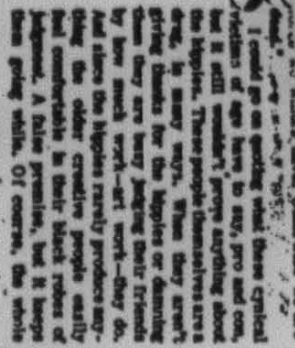
circumventing opposite reality of the plain world of THINGS presented through the mass media AS TRUE AMERICA. And no matter how much the hippies beg for dinner and quarters from obvious non-hippies on avenues B, A, and 1st, in Tompkins Square Park, on St. Mark's Place, and on 7th Street, that bright middle class glitter in their eyes and the underneath glow in the personalities speak of a security these activists can't have, none.

So the hippies have only skin coloring what they share with the old dwellers, but what they share with blacks on the lower East Side is more revolutionary. Often they meet and merge with the blacks, but the Negroes have something different going on. On the "downhere," or downtown level, however, it isn't a ball of silk. They have reached that static and socially psychotic level of despair and fear, a deep, endless agony where a vacuum engulfs them in white pussy, dreamless nights, and talking about what's going on upstairs in Harlem. The negroes, in short, are black hippies, pastimes, and almost pointless. Hence they blend with the cats in Tompkins Square Park (Giacca, a son good?) on all occasions, and the easy way to recognize them is by their beards and dark glasses, their white girl friends, who by the way, are often known as "fags."

than the apologetic and finally the hippies. A comp de grace? The Puerto Ricans are, in an unorthodox way, the most oppressed victims of the area; they also constitute the largest percentage of the Welfare clients. They have many problems the hippies could not know at first hand. Mayor Lindsay recently said in a PLAYBOY interview: "The schools couldn't move more than 137,000 students who don't speak English."

As I know Puerto Ricans who see the hip-ster as "nice kids," I talked with a Spanish-speaking woman on 7th Street one day who said: "My husband gets drunk and goes to the park and plays his guitar with them. He likes them! I like them!" But this woman and her husband are exceptions.

Allen Ginsberg, on the night the Peace Day Book Store reopened managed to make friends with some heavy Puerto Rican boys going out onto the street and "grooving" (as the hippies say) with the kids, and the older folks eventually joined in. I know a Puerto Rican man who put himself into the blast of a fire hydrant with the black hippies, and really see the grotesque m... as an old Polish white man surviving on Welfare checks said "...I don't have nothing against them. One helped me across the street the other day. But all this long hair like girls and the girls looking like boys! I just don't know what's going on. It's



Notes from Halgate Ashbury,
the week, October 16.

I can only speak for myself, as anybody can. I am honestly really sure, but I am sure that in many others for some of the same obvious reasons. It-A seemed like the best hope, an outpost of humanity in a land of deodorized plastic mannequins engaged in one way or another in the computerized substitution of the Vietnamese people and the destruction of human emotion here in America.

Almost everybody here was at one time or another engaged in some form of political activity whether it be civil rights, anti-war or both. Yet, long before it happened, it seemed to me, of us that while middle-class America was changing to a blood alley that spoke of it, the Army's bayonets and gas-spraying GIs had police defending America's military establishment against the people for whom it was created to protect. The whole man had put his hope in the black man to make his revolution, and the black man answered, "Make your own, whitey. I'm through working for you." White political activists, unable to create a base in their own communities, were banished out of the positions, ignored and abused. Personal demonstrations, civil disobedience, electoral politics: the tools of the brainwashed middle class that the authorities permitted them to use could change the course of the Vietnam war about as much as Senator Fulbright's speeches to a dead Senate. But most of white America, benighted with years and years of propaganda in their schools, were too much and seemed to admit the facts of reality. Pacifica chained themselves to a drained brother in a vain attempt to bypass the

They were brought off, background, covered, and forced to obey, and they in turn left it their obligation to force others to obey. Psychologically America was left. Their minds had turned into mechanical obedience machines incapable of doing anything they were not allowed to do. Those who disobeyed and rebelled were sent to the psychiatric to be reconditioned to a state of stolid docility. Almost anyone over 35 as Mr. Dylan said couldn't be trusted. You have only two poll the compass, the lies, the crutches they had committed in order to be doing things they had many times had they looked the other way, advised their conscience with a mere "I'm all right, thank you, and played the cards they were supposed to have in order to duplicate their agony and escape reality. For they could not be trusted, and that goes for the millions of black men whom white men as white and can be brought off with a shiny new Cadillac.

So we had, dropped out, in up our hopes and poured our fire. There was nothing left to do. So we, seemed to understand, so many were afraid of losing that air-conditioned life of luxury without feeling in the wasteland of America called the suburbs. People's minds, it seemed, had been destroyed by too many words, their values too distorted, their hearts too great. We were walking, trying to live out the time till it was all over. Until we could but blight and suspicion, life in a world too horrible to endure any longer. I'd we purged the nation, full of hate, got and what, have you. We created a new personality, new forms, a "New culture," a clear-cut tribute to the Americans and

their disorientation. They questioned everything. Something was really wrong with America that could not be cured by a new anti-poverty program, a space shuttle, or wage increases.

America had become a nation of scared individuals believing that they alone were to blame with desires and feelings that must be repressed in order to conform. Conform, conform, in your heart of hearts and obey. What other choice was there? The question created us and we created a choice.

There would probably be no GI-A without the war and perhaps the only way movement would not have reached the cold brutal, harping point, from confidence and submission to rebellion and rebellion had there been no "Niggers." The pre-Niggers, Niggers, and post Niggers who marched, got arrested, were imprisoned and tried. The abolitionists, ignored the law, and were punished, pushing all this then. Niggers are more than just people who walk down Eighth Street with beads, beads, long hair, dread on drugs. They are a concept, as set of rebellion, a military vanguard, a hope for the future.

You might say that some of us were walking, walking to see if what had happened could ever take place. The law for most of us is the law of the man who controls, dominates, and rules. It is violence every day without a thought. The only fear is that of being caught and eating up in jail. The law is made by the others, the law, and in their interest alone. They violate it at will in a country where the people are allowed

for African

New York Times

November 6, 1967

the REVOLUTION



These old neighborhood dwellers will occupy their places on benches, grills removed from the action. I don't mean that these people are necessarily too old to respond to the music or the smoke, but because some of them are young mothers and young working men who go to work everyday and bring home an oppressive sixty-five dollars per week, these are the descendants of the immigrants who maintain the poverty-stricken ghetto tradition of their particular racial and cultural groups. These people have other things to do that turn them on. Their style of life has no interest with the hippy life.

There is another group I want to deal with in relation to the "hippy movement": the older artists, writers, actors, etc., in the area. Some of them are established, and still struggling, and far more actively belittling themselves. These people have some opinions—they may not be worth listening to—concerning the hippies. A female poet said: "The entire concept of drive

unearthly trouble here is the society in which these liveable people find themselves. It's a hostile world, where they will have to commercialize themselves or perish.

There is a radical potential inherent in the very nature of the hippy movement, but it remains dormant because these kids, for the most part, recognize somewhere in the back of their minds, the author's false frame of reference their parents visit on their heads. The very reason the hippy is here and not home in Rhode Island is because he thinks he wants to be totally free. Not only do the hippies hold on to their parents' ideas without being conscious of it, you can see signs of their inability to truly GET WITH IT, and be poor. They sport handsets along the streets, though they themselves may be filthy. Or they will stop in some five or six dollar shop, say, on St. Mark's Place or 2nd Avenue, and spend, without blinking an eye, fifty or sixty dollars for a couple of items so useless as a gold tinied ball or a dim mirror to hang in some dull corner. They have never really known money the way the poor knows money.

These poor people down here know money as something else entirely different. A hippy thinks in middle-class terms of money while these people are struggling for

One night Carol Borge and I went to Headquarters Theatre to watch the kids living on stage. On this East Village stage the kids had set up a typical hippy apartment. There was one black and three or four white boys and several white girls all living on this stage together. They were pretty self-conscious about the whole thing; they certainly weren't being natural, which is the way they were supposed to be acting. At one point a boy and a girl had intercourse, but if they had had privacy they would have simply had sex. The very fact that something like this was presented at Headquarters is a good counter-balance to the handman of Broadway, but nevertheless reflects in an extremely vivid way the stammering false quality of what, in human terms, East Village hippy business men feel they must do with the glossy idealism, human and otherwise, in the area. An old German or Puerto Rican crowd the corner might have had more imagination.

I've heard so many blacks down here tell me after they have lived with whites, blacks or females, that their "friends" have had to be racist and white discover why things about themselves, too. Black men

join our black brothers or have them alone. The sad thing about all of us is when we talk about large groups of people we can mean only so much.

The Bohemians of the twenties and thirties and the Bohemians of the fifties were groups that were not necessarily composed of people under twenty-five. The hippies are very young, almost exclusively so. The name of the game is rebellion rather than creativity. There are many differences between the older groups and the hippies; for instance, they never pushed. Bohemians was always free, more alive than any other segment of the nation, but it was never quite so unproductive as it is now. But then the art of the hippies is perhaps a living art, like they aren't concerned with things, artists for instance but with performance.

Young people have for years complained that they could not identify with any of the so-called leaders or group movements, but now a young people's movement has opened arms for them all, rich and poor, black and white, and they don't have to have any talent or glamour, just "rage and fantasy" and "flowers and love" and a little courage, to join.

How human do we want to be? How pre-

and some classes continued as usual. Without a clear notion of the nature of a strike, the issue of negotiations became a problem—negotiations by whom, with whom, when? In principle we had decided that there would be no negotiations with the administration. Representatives could present demands and themselves could present demands and thereby the administration's response to the group as a whole. If the administration wanted to work out specific issues, they would have to come to a general meeting or to the picket line. In practice,

where certain "crisis" situations develop rapidly, some of us could realize neither the temptation nor the desirability of assuming the role of "leader" and paralyzing in last-minute negotiations.

This situation was particularly serious because we developed neither a collective leadership nor an active base. These problems were partially a result of conditions peculiar to the New School, but were also related to incredibly biased analyses. For instance, to avoid sectarianism in a school with various branches

[illegible]

officially initiated and sponsored by SDS. We implied that the overall "Anti-War Mobilization" was, under the aegis of SDS at the core. Since the whole thing was clearly an SDS project, the pop front rhetoric seemed hypocritical and somewhat naive. The SDS movement had by now grown understandably disillusioned of its. The short period of time between the development of the archie concept and the week of Mobilization did not actually permit the development of a genuine popular front. Considerations of time — which was needlessly short — necessitated that central planning take place, hence the open meeting discussion plan. Obviously had the look of SDS "roll out" roadshow plans through.

Another problem was our failure to develop real organization among and with the faculty and the staff. With few exceptions and valuable exceptions, both for and against, we had no sense of professionalism and their liberal concerns with "academic

New York Times, November 6, 1967

An Analysis of the New School Strike Against the War

ANALYSIS OF THE NEW SCHOOL STRIKE AGAINST THE WAR

by Bob Tenenbarger and David Gilbert

Introduction:

On April 13, 1967, approximately 65% of the 14,000 students and faculty of the New School for Social Research did not attend class in conjunction with an anti-war strike organized by SDS. That day substituted a week of anti-war and anti-imperialist education. When New School President John Everett tried to turn an agreed anti-war speech by US Senator Eugene McCarthy into an official school event which would lead the strike, both Everett and McCarthy were shouted off the steps of the school auditorium. The students seized the auditorium and used it to discuss future anti-war strategies.

Despite this superficial success, the strike must be viewed as basically a failure, a cruel mockery of what could have been. The strike failed because it created no mass organization, was no concrete victory, did little to develop consciousness on the part of even the organizers themselves. This failure, in the most general sense, developed out of our lack of clear-cut objectives, year-long background strategy and education, and overall national perspective. We do not feel that our failure necessarily invalidates the student strike as a tactic. Rather, the strike should be carefully analyzed so that its full potential can be

initial strategy:

The strike was conceived as a method for achieving both unified and dramatic action within the institution that formed our community. In addition it was seen as a new tactic which might be integrated with the general anti-war activity of the Spring Mobilization. It seemed at the time a good way of combining local activity with the overriding issue of opposition to the war. It was also hoped that educational activity which accompanied this protest could raise the level of student consciousness from anti-war to anti-imperialism.

Our major tactic was to be a referendum of the student body, faculty and staff to the effect that the New School should be closed on April 13 as official institutional protest against the war. The referendum was seen as giving "democratic" legitimacy to the protest. Even more fundamentally, referendum was a technique for involving the people at a basic level, necessitating a minimum of commitment and action. Once they had taken the step of participating in the referendum, it seemed as though they would have a stake in taking more militant action when the referendum was disregarded—specifically to produce de facto closing of the school by a mass student-faculty-staff

referendum strategy was the assumption that universities in general are a part of the military-industrial complex responsible for the war, and hence are legitimate targets for anti-war protest. Likewise implicit seems the assumption that only some form of student-faculty control of the university can end this war complicity. Our own lack of full consciousness of these implicit assumptions led to a great many of the difficulties which accompanied the strike.

General problems:

The immediate result of the referendum was that the university community became polarized about issues not directly connected with the war. Rather the issues rapidly became "academic freedom" and student power. In fact some segments of the community felt that SDS was using the war issue as a tool for gaining student power rather than being concerned with direct activity against the war. Since the referendum was conducted without the extensive prior education (and activities) which it needed, these issues were not seen in their proper perspective as tactical in an anti-imperialist struggle. Rather, they became political issues themselves. This distinction was not even clear in the minds of the organizers themselves

able to make demands concerning the ideological nature of education and the value to the ruling class of the "liberal" socialization which takes place at such universities. Without concrete demands, the strike seemed purposeless to many. Moreover, the administration was able to treat it as though it were indeed frivolous and without purpose. It was not a strike for anything.

In fact the strike was purposeless on another level. It in no way appeared to fit into an effective national strategy against the war. Immediate attempts were made to connect the strike with the Spring Mobilization which was underway at the same time. No other schools were striking or accomplished anything related to which this strike could be tied. Furthermore, nothing was done to utilize the time and energy withdrawn from school. The picket lines and educational activities on that day were sparsely attended. People might have been more enthusiastic had the day of the strike been devoted to more direct anti-war demonstrations such as disrupting induction centers or picketing war industries. In addition, such off-campus activities could have made the point that as the war gets worse, our everyday activities have to be correspondingly replaced by political activity. Even the concept of striking itself

...and university. The district was... by the whole range of student... such as 5-6 dormitories. Very... of the east corner over picket line, and we don't feel like pushing the point... from the dormitory to picket line. This branch... to address the spirit of solidarity... of the area.

Throughout all these difficulties runs... the threat of a lack of strategic planning... and tactical integration. We had little... conception of how to build up to and... progress for major actions, where specific... factors were lacking and how they were... intertwined. Problems specific to the... New School:

Many of our problems seemed to be... specific to the particularities of the New... School and therefore will only be described... briefly for the purpose of this article. The New School is an able, common-sense... school with a majority of non-degree... students. Communications among students... are almost non-existent, and the New... School community is almost totally frag-... mented. People are often around the... school only one night and rarely more... than 1 or 2 nights a week. There are... no school-wide publications. In this sit-... uation it was very difficult to develop... a unified group of active workers and... to communicate any projects and propo-... sals to the community at large. Out of... the struggle, we developed our own seri-... ous, which was somewhat successful. But with much effort and expense, we... could reach only about 2,000 of 14,000... students.

The New School has no student govern-... ment, religious officers, or the like that... could lend legitimacy to the referendum. In fact 90% is above the only active... student organization at the school. Some... people were members of an SDS-run... referendum, as in SDS-sponsored issues. This may have been partly due to the... "generational gap" above the struggle and... not is considerably older than the average... SDS member at the New School.

The New School has a particularly... liberal-liberal tradition and constituency. On one hand, these politics provided us... with widespread anti-war sentiment and... a tendency to reject picket lines. On the... other hand, they...

...another particular problem was the... hours we spent trying to reason with... "friendly administrators" who actually... had no power and who eventually became... defined by their structural roles when... situations became sufficiently polarized.

Arguments:

Given a basically liberal constituency, the... major argument against us was the... appeal to the "liberal, apolitical autho-... rity". This means that the university... should not take political stands because... it is a haven for the development of... different ideas. Closing the school to... protect the war would be an infringement... on the individual rights of those who... supported the war. If the school took... a political stand, it might help initiate... a new McCarthyism through which the... government might try to enforce political... standards. In short, many concurred with... President Everett when he said that the... university must remain a "free market... place for ideas".

We, of course, agreed that the university... is a free market place for ideas; a free... market is where the economically most... powerful dominates. We tried to show that... a university is inherently political. We... described who the trustees were and what... their interests might be in insuring that... the New School performed a certain type... of training and socialization. (There is... no direct military research or training... that we know of at the New School so that... we couldn't use this argument.) Given the... functional integration of the New School... with the society that perpetuates the war, given the political and military extension... of that war, "apolitical inaction" in effect... supports the status quo.

These arguments about the societal... function of the university and the equiva-... lence of apolitical inaction with support of the... status quo are crucial to the kind of... consciousness we were hoping to develop. Unfortunately, the argument was not made... with sufficient clarity nor closely enough... related to people's experience to be very... effective.

The other major argument we used... was the analogy to McCarthyism. Would... people support institutional opposition to...

If we are to live as an effective mean-... berably-supported paper, then our report-... ers, each of you, have to be consen-... sually working as the info as soon as things... occur, so that we can get them out to... the membership. REPORT NOW!!!!!!

behavior, might not force and certain... infringements on "personal freedom" be... necessary? This second line of argument... has somewhat more successful because... it appealed to the "moral responsibility" of our liberal audience. We feel that... this argument is useful only if it can be... integrated into a clear-cut critique of the... societal function of the university. — A... critique which we did not do fully enough.

Lessons:

THE STUDENT STRIKE CAN NOT... WORK AS A STRATEGY IN ITSELF, BUT ONLY AS A TACTIC THAT IS PART OF A LARGER STRATEGY. The larger strategy must involve this... clear-cut institutional analysis and at-... tack. The institutional attack must touch... us about the nature of power in American... society. Thus, the strike must not de-... generate into simply another form of... subject and diffuse demonstration as it... did at the New School. Rather it must be... viewed as one tactic in an overall strategy... of mass student organizing. The purpose... of the organizing is to alter power re-... lationships in an institution which in turn... possesses power within the society as a... whole. The nature of power is revealed... in the concrete struggle around specific... demands, demands that relate the over-... riding concerns of anti-imperialism with... the immediacy of the university. The... strike might be useful in attempting to... meet such demands, but other tactics also... might be necessary.

The idea of a student strike then is... useful insofar as it fits in with the... idea of an overall strategy around in-... stitutional power, mass organizing and the... joining of concrete demands and over-... riding issues.

In terms of more specific problems, the New School strike certainly would...

with a national strategy and program. Further, it required either a discredited... conception of a strike or a re-focusing... of people's activities away from the school... (to liberation centers or war liberation) or both. In order to win concrete demands, some sort of economic power will have to... be developed, whether it be destroying... the school's "image" with counter-protes-... or building toward an eventual billion... strike.

But in reality, we cannot achieve all... our concrete demands. It is impossible... to build socialism on one university. The point is to engage in a struggle... on a sufficiently high level of conscious-... ness so that both partial defeat and... partial victory can be used to further... that struggle. Partial defeat can be used, if we have not organized people around... false expectations, to define the nature... of the enemy. Partial victory can be used, if we have not limited ourselves to re-... formist demands and conceptions, to re-... veal our power to continue by struggle... for the total vision we have projected.

The strike, then, can not be a formal... event leading nowhere, but only a possible... (not necessary) tactic in a series of... tactics that fit in with an integrated... strategy. That strategy must place pri-... mary emphasis on revealing the class... and ideological functions of the university... and responding to that institutional power... with mass organizing of a student con-... stituency. By locating power, by relating... that power to our own lives, by organiz-... ing those in the same situation as us, we can begin struggling for our own per-... sonal liberation in the process of strug-... gling against the institutional power... in an oppressive society.

November 6, 1967 New York Times

NON-STUDE CUTS COLONEL'S MUSTARD WITH A BIT OF CUSTARD

A Marine Corps Colonel got a custard pie in the face, between 100 and 200 Berkeley students got an unexpected show, and non-student man, clad in a black cap, orange T shirt, black leggings, and gas mask got away.

All in a space of two minutes.

Less than 24 hours later the dashing champion of free people everywhere appeared in the BAAB office for an exclusive interview, regaled with costumes.

"I'd been smoking and it hit me—I guess that's how non-student man was born," the muffled voice behind the gas mask told BARS Sunday.

When I read the announcement, non-student man and his cap-gun totting accomplices had mapped out approach and escape routes to Wheeler Hall, the scene of the incident. They enlisted the aid of 2 motorcycles, and the plot was set.

At 4:15 on Saturday Col. Roy D. Miller was just warming up to the subject of ROTC program for freshmen. In mid-sentence he turned to see non-student man dashing onto the stage at his right.

"I took 10 steps," related non-student man. "He looked at me. First he just looked peeved. But then he saw the pie hurtling toward him. Shock and real terror appeared on his face."

According to an eyewitness account, "Miller put up both of his arms in this cowering, really flailing manner, which was the best part."

At that point the accomplice dressed in an army uniform shouted "Peeve, God damn!" and chased non-student man from the stage with a volley of cap-gun blasts. In less than a minute the pie-thrower and his aide had jumped on the backs of waiting motorcyclists and cleared the campus.

Witnesses in Wheeler said a young man in the rear stood up and yelled "That the war in Vietnam!" just after the pie was thrown. They noted quickly suppressed laughter from some of the freshmen.

Col. Miller "looked around for a half-minute or so to check the reactions of students," another witness reported. "Then he resumed his spiel in mid-sentence. His dignity had been assaulted and he wasn't going to show it. But he was standing with flecks of pie all over him."

Col. Miller later had "no comment" about the incident but wanted to know if BARS could identify his assailant.

The elusive procedure described his highly successful debut as "only a beginning." He plans even more imaginative assaults to "turn on new people on the campus and keep administrators, military, and even radicals from being too breath-taking."



New School Strike

...a large proportion of our success. On the other hand, left-liberals tend to be very personal combative rather than out of

6 New Left Notes

November 6, 1967

Direction of Resistance

continued from page 1

The struggle on the campus was and still is of that importance to the development of a movement in this country but to many ways our efforts for resistance to change. We know that socialism is an inherently is impossible. We also know that we cannot control the institutions publicly or subconsciously and perhaps we don't want to say longer. When a group of black people was asked what they thought of black people controlling the ghetto they answered that they didn't want to. The ghetto is the only in which black people live. It does not represent liberation but only colonial control. Rather than control the ghetto they want a new society. Let them of the university has changed idea. We see the university for what it is—a tool of regimentation. We don't want to control it. We want to use it to make a society where a new form of university will be relevant. We want to make the free society before we can have the free university.

FROM LIBERATION TO RESISTANCE

The role of the student movement in the struggle for radical social change is becoming increasingly clear. The student movement is the primary instrument of political subversion and propaganda in the white community. By increasing its radical activity it is evidenced by the role of students in Washington, Oakland and Madison. The student movement is beginning to be an active political role in the country. It is beginning to take itself seriously. An underlying assumption of the move-

about the nature of power in America must be changed so that they won't fight with the enemy but will stand beside us in the struggle. The artificial security of the radical student community cannot be an excuse to stop reaching out. The role of an organizer is to constantly reach out to and develop new constituencies. We must continue to enlarge the sea in which we swim and to develop more fish as well. The only way we can show our ideas to be correct is to reformulate them. We cannot afford to be afraid of the people.

Student Movement action must have a political direction and must be aimed at exploiting the nature of the society to people. We moved from civil rights activity to other activities partly because we found that black liberation cannot be seen as a thing in itself. The entire economic, political and social nature of the country is involved. The same is true of campus activity. The fact that we are against American repression of national liberation movements and that we are for black liberation and increased labor militancy begins to tie the issues together for other people. If the student movement begins to see that it can play an important role—as a student movement—we will have begun a resistance and we will develop long-term radicals from the realities of the struggle.

On campus, where it is possible the student movement must open itself up to guerrilla striking forces, moving toward least expected on unexpected targets, retreating, and moving again in unexpected places. The campus should be seen as a liberated zone where non-students can

student action relevant to other groups in the society are almost unlimited. When workers are trying to unionize, students should be ready to give support. In Boston students supported the unionization of hospital workers by picketing, building community support and supplying the technical skills to pull it off. When the auto workers strike against Ford, student support of the auto workers might not involve demonstrations at the plant gates but instead a sit-in at the Ford Company administrative offices.

When restaurant and hotel workers in Austin, Texas tried to unionize two years ago, they ran into problems which students could have helped solve. Shops where there was a majority for unionization were destroyed by the firing of the sympathetic workers. A few students were involved in the effort but no major student support was ever given. If students had seen themselves as the troops who could help unionize by their action the situation might have been very different. There were a couple of restaurants which were crucial in the unionization process. If the union could have been established in those places it would have spread. Students should have been prepared to close down a restaurant until the union was recognized. They should have been developing support among the people in the community so that they would have been sure about the issue. The issue should have been debated on the campus or that students could see what the struggle was all about.

Students can help to initiate a new militancy in the labor movement. When the railroad workers were given an in-

anyone interested should come to the campus for help. They should assume that the campus is a semi-liberated area and that they can use it as a base for their activities. Along with the group at the draft board there should be squads of people in the community interpreting what is happening. We should stop depending on the bourgeois press to publicize what we are doing. Groups of five people should go to the high schools, the neighborhoods, and onto the campus to spread the word about what is happening and why.

There are only a few examples of where students can move to begin to legitimize their role to other people. It is essential that we not moderate our positions when we talk with people who are not students. The theory that first you get people into liberal action so that next time they will be ready for more radical action ignores the fundamentals of a movement for radical social change. If the organizing is done seriously a base in the community as well as an expanding campus base can be established. This may well be essential when the university responds to the pressures of established power, and decides to suppress radical activity on campus.

There has been talk on many campuses about the "Revolution" collection. About

DLT
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CC 06-90

7912-840647-001

THE DUTY OF THE "TROOPS"

We as students must develop the movement and that we must initiate action with that in mind. The possibilities for

NAC Minutes

Chicago S.A.C., 306 E. 43rd Street
is in dire need of a car. Please write
or call 372-8025 if you have a car, or
if you can help in any way.

Submitted by Robert Perkins

1) Let Elgin was hired as assistant
editor of NAC. Mike Kumpf and Wayne
Schubert were hired as part of the print
staff. There are three had been do-
ing much needed work in the office the
NAC decided to terminate it.
2) The previous NAC policy of not al-
lowing outside groups to use the pub-
lic equipment was reaffirmed with re-
spect to the NAC. The NAC is under-
standing paper at Northwestern University.
3) The NAC has shown that allowing
groups to justify their own copy, but not
their own property, etc., with our equip-
ment is just too much of a hassle.
4) The Chapter Council will be made
available for \$10. The last approval in
NAC previously but we get where re-
quests from time to time and we felt
that outside groups should pay to use
our NAC.
5) By now again based with the neces-
sity of making travel for the office—this
time a trip to the NAC press we
went to. Any money we can raise
to get that much has money that
we have to pay interest on to the bank.
The fact that we should try to
raise as much of that money from the
community as possible. IF EVERY-
BODY START IN 61 WEST HAVEN ST. MAINE
OR THE ROCKHILL

bourgeoisie has found that the second
week is twice as effective as the first.
The committee will also deal with about
\$20 worth of ads in the classified sec-
tion of the L.A. Free Press. Special
appeals for fund raising will be sent to
selected people around the country on
the hope that they will get off their ass-
es and raise some money for the N.O.
on the local level.
6) The Special Issues of NAC will be sent
out to quantities as large as are ordered.
So—if you pay postage you can get han-
dles of the Special Issues to use on your
campus for organizing.
7) The NAC recommends to the NAC
that a political insert be drawn up ex-
plaining the historical position of the
Port Huron Statement and explaining that
it no longer represents SOS's view of
the society. The dialectic applied to con-
sciousness seems to be at work within
SOS.
8) A new library policy was set. Chap-
ters may now order \$25 worth of librar-
ies at the 50% discount rate on con-
dition that they pay for it. The N.O. does
not. If the \$25 is not then forth-
coming to other libraries will be sent.
9) The NAC is planning to do a
primary meant as a service to poor
and new chapters. Chapters which are
established and which have the broadest
should pay in advance. The N.O. has had
her things to do with money than does it.
on libraries which could be paid for by
the people would handle for a couple
hours to get the money.
10) Organizers will be given \$50 worth of
10% plus 10% posters. This is to help
keep them alive as they travel from place
to place.

REMEMBER: Chapters get 10% at 50%
discount. We want the 10% used but we ex-
pect you to have the consciousness to
remember that all the 10% you get from
them is without paying for it cuts into every-
thing else the N.O. does.
11) FINANCIAL REPORT:
Tuesday, Oct. 17 to Monday, Oct. 23 (67)

Exchanges	65.00	Office Supplies	74.91
Postage	45.00	DESKS Paid	50.00
Printing Cash	67.11	Telephone	274.42
Printing Supplies	345.10	Water (REC)	8.25
Typewriting	38.48	Purchase (REC)	45.00
Substance	202.00	Travel	120.00
		Fire Insurance	79.50
		Miscellaneous	2.00
		TOTAL	1137.475
		Net Profit	- \$41.86

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, IL 60612
RETURN REQUESTED

R. Elkin
P.O. Box 2751
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Students could march to the draft
board or induction center and announce that
they will help anyone in the community
who wants to resist the draft. They should
announce that they are going to use the
campus to help these people and that

The issue was clear in the second
round—it was political suppression. As
we begin to expand both on and off campus
we can expect the same kind of suppression
and hopefully an expanded form of re-
sistance to it.

Second-class post-
age rates paid in
Chicago, Illinois

SAC, Philadelphia

12/31/67

Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - C

[redacted] advised on 11/13/67, that he has been receiving considerable information from various sources concerning the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). According to [redacted] sources, a conference was recently held somewhere in Pennsylvania by SDS representatives where a decision was made that December 4, would be the date that SDS should move from a nonviolent position to a more vigorous position of sit-downs, demonstrations, and other forms of civil disobedience.

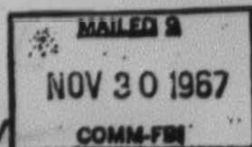
Philadelphia and Pittsburgh should advise if they have any information concerning the conference referred to by [redacted] and furnish the Bureau pertinent data in form suitable for dissemination.

[redacted] also stated that from his talks with various individuals in SDS and in the peace mobilization field that more prisoners of war would be released by North Vietnam and that such releases would be capitalized on in the U. S. by the "peace" forces.

Chicago and New York are requested to remain alert for any information coming to their attention concerning this matter and promptly advise the Bureau if such information is received.

- 2 - Pittsburgh
- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - New York

WNP:lrb
(11)



NOV 30 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: *November 16, 1967*

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~in AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

COMINFIL, STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

ATTN:

ACTION

DATE

DATE

ReBuairtel dated 11/6/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies with appropriate copies for the offices listed below of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) which sets forth information concerning a conference held at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 11/10-12/67.

b1 This LHM has been classified confidential in order to protect *b1D* _____ could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S.

- ENCLOSURE
- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 10)(RM)
 - 2 - Boston (Enc. 2)(RM)
 - 2 - Cleveland (Enc. 2)(RM)
 - 2 - Detroit (Enc. 2)(RM)
 - 2 - New York (Enc. 2)(RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2)(RM)
 - 2 - Newark (Enc. 2)(RM)

SEE _____
ADD. _____

13 NOV 17 1967

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., _____

Bishop RAO (ISD, CRD, CD) _____

DATE FORW: _____

HOW FORW: _____

BY: _____

CLASSIFIED BY _____

EXEMPTED GDS, CATEGORY 2

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

65 DEC 7 1967

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-40903

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Bureau is requested to note that the attached LFM is not being disseminated to individual case files regarding individuals attending the aforementioned conference inasmuch as complete dissemination of the informant report will be made in the immediate future.

All offices receiving copies of this communication are requested to review their respective files regarding individuals residing in their respective divisions and submit to the Bureau and Chicago subversive characterizations, if available, for these individuals in form suitable for dissemination.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois
November 16, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-40903

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)**

**NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON
LATIN AMERICA (NACLA)**

b7D

On [REDACTED] a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a conference "On the University and the Military" was held in Ida Noyes Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, November 10-12, 1967, under the sponsorship of the SDS, NACLA, Radical Education Project (REP), and the University Christian Movement (UCM). Source stated that approximately 140 individuals attended this conference which included many editors of college newspapers from California and New York; however, the bulk of the persons attending this conference came from the midwest area of the United States.

Source made available a leaflet which set forth the following information regarding this conference:

"Conference on the University and the Military
Nov. 10, 11, 12

"During the past year, the campus-based Movement has concentrated more and more on attacking academia's involvement with the U.S. military. Some of the most solid research and most impressive action programs to come out of the campus Movement have been done in this area. This conference will gather together those who have done the research and have had experience in action to map out strategies for future programs dealing with the university and the military.

"Registration: Ida Noyes Hall, 1212 E. 59 St., 6-8 P.M. Friday,
Nov. 10 - \$5 fee.

Handwritten: 1452, 2/23/75, 2, 11-2-78 558/1575

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY,
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA**

CONFIDENTIAL

"Friday, 8 P.M. The University and the Military: an Overview"

panel: Carol Brightman (Viet-Report)
Judith Coburn (Institute for Policy Study)
Christopher Lasch (Northwestern University)
Sol Stern (Ramparts)
Martin Nicholas (Simon Frazer University)
MARTIN NICHOLAS

Saturday, 11 A.M. Experiences of Campus Struggles Against the Military

panel: David Ransom (Stanford)
Eric Ghester (Michigan)
Mike Kiare (Columbia)

to be followed by workshops

Sunday, 1 P.M. Long-term Strategy

panel: Carl Davidson (SDS)
John McDermott (Viet-Report)
Mike Locker (NACLA)
Chris Hobson (Chicago SDS)

to be followed by workshops

**"Sponsored by: Students for a Democratic Society
Radical Education Project
University Christian Movement
North American Congress on Latin America"**

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA

CONFIDENTIAL

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[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source advised that the conference "On the University and the Military," on November 11, 1967, consisted of several workshops which were as follows:

Social Science Research
IDA and "Independent" Think Tanks
Methodology--How to Research University Involvement
Faculty and Graduate Student Organizing
Small Colleges
IDA
Campus Recruiting

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA

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(C)
"The Chicago Maroon," the newspaper of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, dated November 14, 1967, contained an article captioned "200 Students Attend Military Conference Here. The article reads as follows:

CONFIDENTIAL

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Get the universities out of the arms of the military."

"That was the cry heard over the weekend at a conference on the university and the military, held in Ida Noyes Hall.

"Among the specific instances of co-operation between the academic community and the military establishment which were condemned by speakers at the conference were:

"Classified research conducted at universities for agencies connected with the military establishment;

"Recruitment on campuses for both private corporations and government agencies which engage in activities related to the war, such as Dow Chemical Co. and the Central Intelligence Agency;

"Membership of twelve universities, including Chicago, in the Institute for Defense Analyses, which provides many basic research studies for government agencies, primarily the Department of Defense.

"Connection is Drawn

"A more basic, all-encompassing connection between universities and the military establishment, including corporate suppliers of war material, was drawn by Martin Nicolaus, an instructor of sociology at Simon Fraser University, and associate editor of Viet Report.

"'There is a misconception that a university is an educational institution,' Nicolaus commented. 'We no longer have education; we have a knowledge industry, we have a system of induction.

"'What the knowledge industry is doing is training people for industry. The need of industry is for people who have special skills,' Nicolaus remarked.

Like the base of an iceberg, he said, the university lies at the base of an industrial-military-university complex, providing skills, research, and trained graduates for the top of the iceberg.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"SDS-Sponsored

"The three-day conference, attended by about 200 students from schools across the country, was sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society, the North American Congress on Latin America, and the Radical Education Program, a training off-shoot of SDS.

"Carl Davidson, inter-organizational secretary of SDS, noted that the conference came during a period of more and more 'confrontations' between radical students on college campuses and representatives of the military-industrial complex.

"Beginning in the fall of 1964, Davidson recalled, teach-ins against the war in Vietnam brought together groups of students who 'saw the campus as a fertile ground for recruiting people against the war.'

"New waves of protest, directed against university administrations for the first time, arose in the spring of 1966. Students at several institutions, including the Chicago, protested what they termed the 'complicity' of university administrations in the war effort, through formation of male class rank for use by the Selective Service, or use of campus facilities to administer the Selective Service Qualifying Test.

"After a period of more 'passive protests' against recruitment by Dow and government agency recruiting, Davidson continued, a demonstration at Columbia last May began a new period of obstruction and resistance tactics.

"'The difference between resistance and protest,' he remarked, 'brings up the question of free speech. When an institution loses its legitimacy (by being involved in 'un-democratic' activity), it no longer has the right of free speech. It has lost all sanctity...'

"Politics Attacked

"John McDermott, editor of the magazine View Report, seconded the view of the university as a political animal.

"'The researchers see the university as a means for gaining control over large groups of people, their political

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

party, if you will,' McDermott commented. 'Both military and non-military research have the power to coerce the majority. They call it "stabilizing systems."'

"The problem of 'civil liberties' involved in resistance tactics was discussed by Christopher Hobson, a graduate student of political science here.

"We recognize civil liberties as a counter-argument we have to deal with,' he noted. 'Our response is to phrase our problems in dealing with the civil liberties question. We must make it clear that the civil liberties question is bull (obscene) and doesn't impede our tactics.

"Vietnam has undermined the universal belief' in the universal validity of civil liberties, which people in the New Left historically have believed in, Hobson said.

"Why be concerned when Dow and the military aren't concerned' he asked.

"Future Tactics

"Suggestions on future tactics on college campuses to protest connections with the military were offered in Saturday's panel by representatives from Stanford, Columbia, Oberlin, Princeton, and the University of Michigan.

"Perhaps debate is the most important preparation for getting people to act,' suggested David Ransom, English instructor at Stanford. Student protestors should attempt to draw out the outspoken professors who are against the war, and capitalize on student alienation against the war, he remarked.

"At Oberlin, according to Jack Aller, a student there, there has been a clear progression 'away from liberal positions by the college administration' and toward 'more militant demonstrations by the students.'

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"At Columbia, according to student Mike Klare, the problem is that students are duped by the liberal reputation of their school. By conducting extended research into the military activities of the university and 'discrediting the administration by direct intellectual confrontation,' Klare said, students could 'destroy the bubble of liberalism.'"

A characterization of SDS is attached.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

12-5-67

Airtel

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS**

Recently the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) substantially increased its activities. Its leading spokesmen have been extremely vocal and highly demonstrative on college campuses across the Nation. Their critical attacks have been directed primarily at American intervention in Vietnam; the draft; the presence of military, governmental and industrial recruiters on campuses; and university administrative policy and procedures.

Increasingly, SDS spokesmen have been urging and directing student groups into protest demonstrations involving and featuring violence, resistance and so-called direct confrontation of the establishment. These activities are carried out under the cover and guise of legitimate dissent. Actually, they often clearly call for and encompass violations of various local and Federal laws. Frequently, in fact, they border on anarchy and sedition.

REC 18 100-439048-216

In view of the clearly subversive nature and extremist form of many of these activities, it is imperative to have full and effective coverage of SDS-sponsored activities. The information concerning them is vital if the Bureau is to fulfill its responsibilities, not only from the standpoint of collecting evidence relating to prosecutable activities, but also in regard to collecting and disseminating information of intelligence value to appropriate agencies and governmental leaders.

2 - All Offices

WNP:llr:mh (114)

DEC 5 1967

COMM-FBI

DEC 11 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439042

Recent issues of "New Left Notes," the weekly publication of SDS, have claimed that there are more than 250 chapters of SDS in this country, most of which are located on college campuses.

In view of the growing militancy of SDS and its demonstrated propensity for violence, every existing chapter must be identified along with its officers and leading activists. Informant coverage must be established in each chapter and it must be high-level quality coverage.

The Bureau realizes these instructions pose problems. Since SDS is campus orientated, establishing complete coverage is going to confront you with the need to operate discreetly in a sensitive and delicate area. Regardless, existing instructions concerning contacts with individuals connected with institutions of learning should not and need not prohibit you from developing such coverage. You have the latitude to show justification and make appropriate recommendations for whatever contacts and informant development steps you deem necessary to establish the coverage needed.

Accordingly, the Bureau desires that each recipient office submit a detailed and analytical survey of the organization and membership of SDS chapters in its respective territory. This survey should set forth in detail the complete organizational structure of SDS together with the identities of officers and functionaries on the chapter, regional and national levels. In addition, you should identify each SDS chapter within the division together with the identities of leading activists in the chapter. The subversive affiliation of each officer and activist should also be included with a succinct analysis of the current activities of the chapter. It is desired that you note the informant coverage in each chapter by setting forth the identity of this informant either by symbol number or name. In those instances where you do not have live informant coverage in a particular chapter, you should note the fact and the program you will undertake to develop such coverage. Following the organizational breakdown, it is desired that each office critically appraise its knowledge of the SDS Chapters within its division and set forth its comments and recommendations concerning investigative activity to be undertaken to eliminate any weakness detected.

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439048

The results of this survey should be submitted to reach the Bureau within 30 days from the date of this communication. Furthermore, each recipient office which has an SDS chapter within its division and which is not submitting a report every three months at this time, is instructed that a report should be submitted within three months from the date of this airtel and thereafter every three months.

The report should contain the identities of all SDS chapters within the division, the identities of their officers and leading activists of each chapter, the subversive affiliation of the officers and other members of the chapter and the activities of the chapter. The original and seven copies of these reports should be transmitted to the Bureau and one copy should be designated for Chicago, the office of origin.

All offices should, of course, continue to furnish any information requiring immediate dissemination to the Bureau by teletype or letterhead memorandum whichever the circumstances dictate.

Promptly initiate investigations of those individuals in SDS who are officers and leading activists and are not the subjects of current investigations. Henceforth, in the submission of reports concerning these individuals, the character "Security Matter - SDS" should be utilized.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, same caption, dated 12-6-67, prepared by WHP:rwl.

No Handbook or Manual changes are necessary.

December 4, 1967

Honorable Reginald B. Rockwell
Editor
Newark Weekly, Inc.
39 East Main Street
Newark, Delaware 19711

Dear Mr. Rockwell:

Senator J. Caleb Boggs has made available to me a copy of the November 29th edition of the Newark Weekly and called my attention to the special editorial section concerning the Students for a Democratic Society.

You certainly have performed a distinct public-service in bringing the aims and purposes of this organization to the attention of your readers.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Baltimore

NOTE: No record in Bufiles of Mr. Rockwell, Newark Weekly or the New Castle Weekly. The letter received from Senator Boggs enclosing this material has been acknowledged separately. Address per Ayer Directory, 1967.

LCS:mib (4)

66DEC 11 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Tex

11/27/67

100-437648

NY 100-45963

Direct FILE
Elective Service Peak Unit

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54 DEC 6 1967

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NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS · 1608 W · MADISON · CHICAGO · ILL.

Volume 2, Number 20

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

December 15, 1967



NOTES ON THE

Toward Institutional Resistance

Carl Davidson
Editor - Institutional Secretary

The present institutional structure and the
present institutional system are the
primary force in the university and the
primary force in the society. The
present structure of the university is
the result of the present system of
higher education. The present system of
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present system of higher education.

We recognize that radical change is necessary in the structure and institutions of this society before women will be able to function and fulfill themselves in every way as human beings. We call for concerted effort in the development of programs which will free women from their traditional roles in order that we may participate in meaningful and creative activities.

Specifically, it is imperative that we unite behind the following points as a beginning step towards full and equal participation of women in our society.

1. As women are 51% of the population of this country, they must be proportionally represented on all levels of society rather than relegated to trivial functions that have been predetermined for them. Particularly they must be allowed to assume full participation in the decision-making processes and positions of our political, economic and social institutions.
2. We condemn the mass media for perpetuating the stereotype of women

have been trained to be prejudiced against

in addition to or a subjection of either sex. On an equal sharing by husbands and wives of the responsibility for making the home and raising the children;

(c) the creation of communal child care centers which would be staffed by women and men assuming equal responsibility and controlled by the adults and children involved in the centers;

(d) the creation of non-profit making food preparation centers conveniently located in all communities.

3. We must fight against male domination in all aspects of society and correct the entrenched assumption of superiority on which it thrives, recognizing that the right to define is the most powerful characteristic of any ruling group. In particular, we must be on guard against paternalism, the potent weapon which through condescension and ridicule can reduce women's most legitimate demands to the level of domestic squabbles.

We recognize that women are often their own worst enemies because they have been trained to be prejudiced against

Nov. 13, 1967

These groups now in revolutionary struggle within our country and abroad. Until the movement recognizes the necessity that women be free and women recognize the necessity for all struggles of liberation, there can be no revolution.

Project Agile:

US GOVERNMENT'S WORLD-WIDE COUNTER INSURGENCY PROGRAM

A Pentagon - financed, world-wide counter-insurgency program is being developed in the nation's top universities and business laboratories to combat guerrilla movements and urban rebellions "wherever they might occur". Details of the Defense Department's Project AGILE are revealed in an exclusive report in the November 11 issue of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

GUARDIAN sources point to Latin America as the major new focus for counter-insurgency planning. A third of AGILE's \$60 million annual budget is still earmarked for support of the Vietnam war and \$10 million is budgeted for the Bangkok Research and Development Center in Thailand, but Project AGILE studies are now in effect for Peru, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Guatemala, Ecuador and Bolivia according to the GUARDIAN report.

Some of the universities, companies and researchers mentioned in the report have admitted participation in counter-insurgency research while others have refused to comment. AGILE Project Director Charles M. Harfield of the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) could not be reached before GUARDIAN deadlines. However, Dr. Harfield recently told a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, "I think to some extent we are breaking ground here for a new way of looking at

possible if these chapters let us know what's happening. Clearly the West Coast isn't the only place where it's all right. Insurrection and built solidarity become a part of history by appearing in New Left Notes when something happens.

Insurgency, how to stop insurgency when it is so small. This is obviously a major military problem for the United States," says Wright, of the Atlantic Research Corporation in Washington, D.C. told the GUARDIAN that work on insurgent and counter-insurgent operations in Ecuador and Bolivia are practically completed. Wright is in charge of additional projects for Colombia, Venezuela and Guatemala.

Complementing this research is guerrilla counter-insurgency operations for Latin America in a classified project on Urban Insurgency Studies are being conducted by the Defense Analysis Corporation of Santa Barbara, California and other classified projects on urban populations control underway at the Rand Corporation in Cambridge, Mass. and in New York.

The GUARDIAN article points out that government sponsored counter-insurgency in the United States is not limited to Project AGILE nor to studies specified as in progress at Cornell, Michigan, Stanford and Northern Illinois, but has become "an everyday phenomenon" in American universities and businesses. Since the source of the GUARDIAN material must remain secret, the author has used the pseudonym Roger Council. Material from the exclusive report may be reprinted with credit to NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 East 4 Street, New York, N.Y. 10005.

Liberation Group

Below is a Preliminary Statement of Principles used as a working paper by a group of Chicago women. Most of us, but not all, are of the Movement.

A few, very few, are in ERG.

We have been working hard for the last two months to discuss our educational status in this society and to prepare a strategy and methods of attacking it. Our political measures of our opposition has developed from the last couple years so we sought to apply the principles of justice, equality, natural respect and dignity which we learned from the Movement to the issue as part of the Movement, only to stand up against the selfish wall of naive education.

Thinking that this is a social problem of national dimensions and if all concerned to our struggle for personal liberation with the Movement on mind approach it in a political manner. Therefore it is decided on this, as means, to organize a movement for women's liberation.

Women must not make the same mistake the Men do at First of allowing others (others in their case, men in ours) to define our beliefs, methods and goals. Only we can and must define the terms of our struggle.

THE
WORLD
OF
THE
FUTURE

While no evidence suggests and as yet none from all concerned persons this

as always in an auxiliary position to men, being no more than mothers, wives or sexual objects. We specifically condemn the advertising concerns for creating the myth about women solely to profit from them as consumers. Furthermore, we call for a boycott of the clothing women's magazines, such as *McCall's*, *Good House-*

bingling, Mademoiselle, Symonds, Vag
Clement, Ladies' Home Journal &
Cosmopolitan, for recommending dresses
and promoting a false mystique &
materialism.

I have most to learn equality of opportunity for education, at all levels and in all fields. Women should be fully educated to their individual potential. Instead of being sadly perverted that education is of little value to their long-range interests.

4. **Equal employment opportunities must be enforced.** This includes equal pay for equal work, no discrimination on the basis of women's childbearing functions, and open access to all jobs, particularly managerial and nontraditional work.

f. The labor movement and all labor organizations, unions and groups must admit women on an equal basis to all executive and policy levels while encouraging women to assume leadership roles

6. Women must have complete control of their own bodies. This means (a) the dissemination of birth control information and devices, free of charge by the state, and

In the Nov. 6 issue of *NYN* three articles were printed without by-lines. The Oakland article on page 1 was written by Karen Wald, Berkeley SDS. Notes from Raignt Ashbury was written by Gohm (no first name given) of San Francisco, & the article on hippies on the Lower East Side was written by Clarence Major of New York City.

FLN has received several calls from people concerning the Oct. 31 story, page 1, about the number of demonstrators in the Oct. 21 Washington March. It reaffirms our firm belief that the story was a complete fabrication; that the D.C. police at no time estimated the crowd at the figure of 118,000.

West Coast

North Robinson

RECORD, NOV. 7—The University of California announced that the CIA had received their applications at the University, and would conduct interviews individually and meet with them en masse. Don Chumchal had no interview today morning, but he, The beloved husband's demonstration, in which 400 students went through a small police line, and proceeded the placement order, where the interview occurred. Publishing the announcement, 150 students entered the Chancellor's office and presented him with a petition demanding that all war research be ended and that other files, the Douglas, Lockheed, etc., not be shared on campus.

ALTA CRUZ, NOV. 1—400 students provided an Air Force recruiter from nearby to DC Santa Cruz Wednesday. The students had income for 4 days that the Air Force was coming, and they

printing a PROPOSAL for anti-drift activity. We no longer talk about moving from protest to resistance. The resistance has already begun.

Apart from the war, the black ghetto rebellions this summer fundamentally altered the political reality of white America, including the white left. The black liberation movement has replaced the old rights and anti-poverty movements, revealing the other bankruptcy of corporate liberalism: co-optive programs. The results of this summer marked not only the possibility, but the beginning of the new and American revolution. This summer's major factor has made more important than ever the organizing of white poor and working class communities by the white radicals. SDS is beginning a response to this situation which includes a major rethinking of draft resistance work away from the student community and into poor and working class communities.

Thirty, in the past few months, SDS people have had to deal with an increasing repression, often violent, from the state and its supporters. Some of us have faced better than others, but we can't keep anyone, or mostly in jail. Police violence does not go un-memoired. SDS has no longer symbolic, but straight: to protect people and hold positions, rather than to allow oneself to be passively shaped over or carried off. The implications of this change, asserting itself for the first time nationally on the Pentagon steps October 21st, are more important than one might assume. For instance, while the anti-verbalist all-his last Spring were primarily acts of moral witness and political protest, an increasing number of the students this Fall displayed the quality of Theological Political Resistance. Their purpose was the disruption and obstruction of certain events and actions BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY. Politically, the occurrence of this kind of activity implies the prior dissolution of religious legitimacy and authority the institutions being resisted may have formerly had.

So, we see the possibility of engaging in a common struggle with the liberation movements of the world by confronting the on-campus sector of the same military operations oppressing them. Our strategy became clear: the disruption, destruction and destruction of the military's access to the newspaper intelligentsia, or resources of our universities. Our tactics a varied series of local confrontations with campus military and para-military operations, hopefully concluding into student strikes, culminating in a national student strike, in the Spring of '69 against the military's presence on campus and against the war in Vietnam. This was by no means seen as our only program, even by the campus. But it was to be a major effort and experiment in a strategy of institutional resistance.

Thus far, SDS has confronted a moderate range of military and counter-hungry operations on campus. The work of these operations falls into three general areas: (1) recruiting, (2) research and development of RAD, and (3) classroom training. In the area of recruiting, we have confronted, at a variety of levels, the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, CIA, Post Chemical, Peace Corps, VISTA, and ROTC. Concerning research, we have had little experience, the only major exceptions being the demonstrations of a CIV project called "Spiders" at the University of Pennsylvania and the temporary disruption of CIA offices at Princeton University.

In the classroom, we have disrupted or otherwise rendered temporarily dysfunctional a range of ROTC training sessions on several campuses, as well as regular service policy courses following the government line. Our imaginative confrontations in this area was with a TRUCAT (Trinidad Civil Affairs Training, Army Reserve) counterintelligence seminar at Green at the University of Florida. Several dozen SDS students, complete with sound truck, calling themselves the Peoples Liberation Army made a surprise appearance at the Army's Saturday morning COIN lectures. After surrounding the

chases. 6) locating recruiting areas and research sites. 7) exposing secret research and/or exposing clandestine connections of open research, recruiting, or training facilities in campus and national news media. 8) making appointments with recruiters in order to debate, harass, and/or take up their time. 9) obtaining favorable resolutions against current and future recruiting, research and/or training from student government, faculty senate, and other groups. 10) placing "war crimes" and other dramatic posters at recruiting sites or training classrooms. 11) setting up counter tables next to recruiting tables or outside recruiting of fests. 12) picketing recruiting areas or training classrooms. 13) staging "guerrilla theater" with death-masks, posters, props and pictures in recruiting areas and training classrooms. 14) holding teach-ins before, during and after recruiting, training, or research work. 15) holding "war crimes trials" for recruiters, trainees, and researchers. 16) holding a "guerrilla sleep" of building during counter-hungry chases. 17) holding speaking forums, questionnaires, and rallies drawing sufficient numbers into recruiting or training areas in order to indirectly stop or disrupt the recruiting or training process. 18) holding non-obstructive sit-ins at recruiting sites, leaving a pathway clear for recruits. 19) holding obstructive sit-ins at recruiting sites to prevent recruiting.

a) passive: recruits or others can pass if they use force. b) active: recruits or others using force to pass will be met with counter-force by those sitting in. 13) holding obstructive or non-obstructive sit-ins at administration offices to

struggle should result in two complete military gains: 1) the undermining of the related dominant institutions and 2) the undermining of power among those reaching the dominant institutions. Towards this end, we consider to attend to problems in a victory when we're dead and then recruiting, rather than attending to a victory through to separate into separate parts present and absent. A perfect example of this situation was the Pentagon steps on Oct. 21st. The high point of victory of the resistance through-covered war debt, after we had broken military lines, completed THEIR TERRORISM, covered the Pentagon, and held our ground until the point where two of their soldiers came over to us. At that point, we should have declared a victory and marched away; rather than sitting there, hour after hour, in slowly weakening and decreasing numbers, waiting for our final symbolic defeat.

Actual picketing, a victory offensive, is that a resistance must form both in numbers, and in depth of commitment. If it is to survive and eventually win, it must be in this area. It is political education, for both ourselves and our potential constituency. For instance, we may have about the CIA, but what about the rest of the company? And the surrounding non-military community? Before we can achieve the destructive sit-in, we must be careful to carry out education educational work, such as questionnaires, rallies, or teach-ins, both on and off the campus.

In addition to the activities involved within the above tactical guidelines, there are several other additional activities continued on page 4

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democratization points to the weakening of the existing institutions of power as well as the growing revolutionary potential of those forces opposing that power.

The final factor we should take into account has been the development over the past six months of an analysis and strategy for institutional resistance. Near the end of 1968, SDS emerged from a dormant and disoriented summer with a mood and rhetoric of resistance. By the beginning of 1969, that rhetoric had taken substantive content, except for its selection but unimplemented craft resistance program. When the present method paper drafted, we seemed to be concerned neither of. We had an analysis and strategy, at hand. In part, We had begun the task of developing a politics of anti-imperialism, within a growing self-interest movement. We developed an analysis of the university as a "knowledge factory" subject to the institutional corporations of American capitalism. Our tactics had the task of supplying an expanding but orderly flow of two valuable and strategic commodities into American business, government, and military institutions—amateur and intelligent. During the summer, our research into the production and use of the university by military and para-military operations revealed extensive connections with organizations like Project Gemini, DIA, TI-CAT, RAND, Project Agila, and CERN, to name a few. All of these had, in one way or another, commodified the work and energy of our schools and had put our resources to the ends of the present and future oppression and domination of the people of the world, both in Viet-

Sherry Joe says:
"Help us to be our goal!
Just let us be making
Growth the machine
Kick the Dead (I am sure)
Ours? how you turn it
machines get rhythmically
learned to about negative
Words, growth, and growth
seen with a easy NIAI Bank
Reactive valuable tools &
your own price along, while
Local financing preferable
National Offices throughout
REVP

to print 1/2 million pamphlets by January for the NOI with FINEAL REIGN, I will send; I BROUGHT YOU; Volapukus Viki, the press and I; Sample Cases (The "Whistle" Trade Case, haven't you a job?; Boney Joe (No, not yet, come with Piusian printer Quat for organizing and/or setting up doing meaningful work, possible.

—and economy over the law and the police as a U. S. strategy. Because the police are, under direct administrative control, but not under simply against the orders, but not been simply against the law, but had been against everyone else, without any thousands, the impact was tremendous. Shortly after carried out, the police were not only a sign of a sign demanding an end to police brutality.

Thomson shouted: "Don't scab on your fellow students. B. C. on strike." Soldiers by typoid most of the students. And it went beyond just talking about students. I received an ovation from 500 evening school students when I said that while we had been beaten pretty badly for white college students, it's nothing like what they give northerners, especially Black northerners.

And the key thing about all this was that it was Brooklyn College, not normally considered a hotbed of radicalism.

But we had some serious talking to do with the school board. The smoldering discontent over the way the school was being run, nurtured in recent struggles over the library, etc., and the growing opposition to the war came to a head when the cops tried to stop our anti-war activity. Our job now is to do the hard follow-up work.

...reactive to our ideas. We must build projects that will educate and involve them. While other shows may be in stores, we can't build our movement centered just in dramatic action after dramatic action. Those movements in the past have always run out of steam and collapsed.

What follows is a discussion of some of the questions raised in and by the struggle.

ST-N vs TALK. Several people had suggested that we sit in when the May came. Their many arguments were that we must do it for moral reasons and to show solidarity with other campaigners. A number of us argued successfully that we had done just that in the past. They still came back. But more importantly we were becoming isolated from the rest of the campus on this issue. Even some of those very much against the war believed in the "Trident" of the rectifiers and the "Trident" of the rectifiers and the "Trident" of the rectifiers to carry on their

are bad. They are good. But not in and for themselves. Only when they relate to a strategy for winning over many more of the students. The recruiters could be forced off campus by 50 students. But so what. Nothing is necessarily changed. That should be our goal.

VICTIMLESS ISSUE IN THE STRIKE The struggle had been initiated as an anti-war protest. But the administration-cop reaction had quickly brought in a few thousand students who weren't prepared to act against the war. A decision had to be made. Should we try to have a several hundred strong anti-war protest or a several thousand strong militant struggle?

On Confederation that you only learn about something by trying to change it.

STUDENT GOVT.—BAINBRIDGE.—CO-OPERATION B. C. PIERCE, KIRKWOOD.

admitted to the PITMEN (10/28) that, as "reestablished student government has 'sifted' and made 'totally ineffective' and that they had told him that "the play was substantially taken away from them." In effect they were exposed. Most students didn't like them anyway. The president and Vice-president are elected, but most

of the Student Council is made up of club reps. It is isolated from the student

A lesson we learned was that day to their ties with the administration, they were in a position initially to try to sell the strike out. They became the "suppliants" and signed an "agreement" which was then leaked to the press. Student signatures on an administration document confused the issuers. Later the student body at a rally of 5,000 turned down the "agreement" and demanded more concessions. This time a strike committee was chosen.

The rally called for the end to the

There are other messages as well as these two. One is that the members haven't come to debate, only to remark, hence free speech is not the issue. Most

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through now. The attempt will now be made to co-opt the whole deal. A new and seemingly democratic student union, without radical content, could be an even

Two different approaches—the same end in mind.

SOS ROLE SOS played a major role in this whole strategy. Five of the 15 members of the Syrian Committee were in SOS. The administration tried to split the Syrians on this point. Many Syrians felt uneasy. They wondered if we weren't "using" them in some way. The comment about the article after article, however,

this did not work. The strike was not deliberately and remained pretty un-
fired. SDS now has more support and
respect on campus than ever before.

FUTURE We are setting up four projects to get involved with many new people on different levels.

- 1) Graduate student organizing project. Many grad students became involved in the strikes, who did nothing before.
- 2) New campus newspaper. Initially an

- 3) Scribble aftermath project. To give it a twist, the scribble concessions are actually carried out. Used to fight for a medical loan for a student union. This may involve some sharp confrontations.
- 4) Anti-war project. To include anti-

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and political viability through the organization of its own institutions with which to represent its needs within the larger society."

The paragraph continues with this pro-Marxist climax:

"Reaction in voting behavior generally, and political behavior generally, have made it clear that politically the American pot has not melted. Realists vote for Republicans over Democrats; Irish for Catholics over Protestants; etc. This phenomenon may seem distasteful to some but it has been and remains today a central fact of the American political system."

NAC Minutes

May 15, 1967
 Secretary: Joe L. ...
 Members Present: Carol Mathews, Earl ...
 Officers Present: Joe L., Joe ...
 L. Financial Report ...
 NO One read a report ...
 Time, May 7 to May, May 15 ...
 A. The with a Triple Ending on page 211

...of continued toward the social sciences, this service grew from the feeling of many radicals that the material encountered in the classrooms of today's universities and colleges consistently reflects the assumptions, approaches, and ideology of the status quo and the Cold War.

The purpose of the series is to provide a radical critique of American academic "scholarship" through empirical and theoretical evidence while analyzing the works of today's "scholar" in terms of their implicit or explicit political orientation. For example, Eric Rodger's *The True Believer* is not just a bad book because of its factual inaccuracies and simplistic social theory. It deserves criticism because Rodger's ideas are also used by "academics" to ignore or explain away the lessons, problems and political questions raised by radicals. Rodger's book also should be exposed for its contribution to the persistent theme of liberal self-command. Similarly, ...

Political Man, Seymour Martin Lipset, ... concerns for economic inequalities, democracy, and his basis for political stability, provide in "undermining the American's counter-ideology toward policy. The critique will seek to justify the works of today's "scholarship" by pointing out how "despite claims of objectivity, dispassionate analysis, academic detachment—they serve ideological and political needs of the physical American Establishment."

While most of the series will be written as radical critiques of specific books, a few will be essays with broader concerns—involving general fields or entire disciplines or sub-disciplines. For example, one of the four critiques now published is a general essay on the historiography of the New Deal period. The books selected for the series are ones commonly used in introductory history and social science courses throughout the U.S. The critiques are written for the college undergraduate and thus may be used in precisely those courses where college students are first exposed to the works of bourgeois "academics."

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beginning the misleading, impossible, and (given the way it is used by today's academics) dishonest posture of "non-partisanship." It is time that the political indoctrination of the classrooms be challenged in the classrooms. Radicals

The first four essays in the series have been published; they are:

1. "Seymour M. Lipset: Social Scientist of the Smooch Society" by Jim Jacobs
2. "Would You Believe..." An Introductory Critique of The True Believer

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should bring their movement into the classroom—challenging the distortions of cold-war apologetics and pressing important political demands and issues.

While only experience will tell what some of the more effective uses of the critiques can be, some general ideas might be listed as follows:

- a) general distribution to large classes; mass distribution of the critiques to the large multiversity classes where some of the specific books are being used might be an initial move in a campaign to challenge the content of the course.
- b) distribution to graduate and teaching assistants; graduate students often have little or no voice in what materials are used in a course where they lead discussion sections; some might find the critiques welcome aids to the material they're stuck with.

These four essays are the beginning of what is hoped to be an extensive series of critiques. Help is needed from all persons interested in the series. Anyone wishing to contribute, either by writing or advising, should contact: Stu Dorcy, NLP, Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108 or Jim O'Brien, 8 Frances Court, Madison, Wisconsin 53713.

Copies of the critiques now available may be ordered for 10¢ each from the Madison, Wisconsin SDS chapter, or outside the Madison area from the Radical Education Project, P.O. Box 1111, Madison, Wisconsin 53701.

Lee Johnson

Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power"

Black Power is currently a favorite topic of the corporate press. Black Power is being distorted, ridiculed, and explained away by corporate academics and mass media hacks. To add to hundreds of magazines, newspapers, radio and TV broadcasts, Random House has just published, in both paper and hardback, a book entitled Black Power. This class, however, we have it straight from the horse's mouth: this book was co-authored by Stokely Carmichael.

It is because we expect an honest book from Carmichael that this book is unpalatable. This book embraces a totally corporate philosophy. It is even more conservative than Charles Silberman's *Crises in Black and White*, published three years ago by Random House. Silberman is an editor of *Pittman*.

Can you imagine a book by the former head of SNCC that does not once mention Vietnam, and the relation of that war to the black liberation struggle in this country? Can you imagine the originator of the slogan "Black Power" writing a book of which a quarter is used up quoting such corporate ideologues as Eisenhower, V.O. Key, Charles Silberman, Kenneth Clark, Edward Bernbach, and Russ Morganthau? Is it possible that Stokely Carmichael, the guest of honor at the revolutionary GLAS meeting in Oslo would write,

"The concept of Black Power... is a fundamental premise... a group can enter the open society. It must first close ranks. By this we mean that... and diversity is..."

Where did you last read this shopworn bit of wisdom? Was it Kropotkin? Bakunin? Harrington? Glazer? Kerr? Or was it Rocker? Schattschneider? Lasswell? Bolt? Kynsley? How many times have we been subjected to the fabrication that each ethnic group, if properly organized, can have equal footing in the society and an equal share of the pie? How many times have we been fed the canard about "pariahs", and about ethnic groups building "their own institutions"? Could we really believe that the central fact of the corporate political system is the American of the Irish for Murphy or of the Jews for Goldwater?

There are other myths Carmichael chooses to repeat and serve us. The society is "middle class"; the society is "growing efficient"; the "major interest formation in the cities is the new middle class". He says, "Technology, corporate consolidation and public economy are transforming that class from a property base to a wage base."

What Carmichael is really talking about is the transformation of a large group of people from the middle class to the working class. Anyone serving property rather than living from it, anyone who

lives from wages, is a worker, not a member of the middle class. Our society is not "middle class", and the "growing affluence" flows primarily into corporate pockets.

For the chapter on the ghetto, Carmichael enlisted the assistance of Nathan Donelson, a former SNCC worker now employed by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. In this chapter they tell us that, "The core problem within the ghetto is the vicious circle created by the lack of decent housing, decent jobs, and adequate education. The failure of these fundamental institutions to work has led to alienation of the ghetto from the rest of the urban area as well as to deep political rifts between the two communities."

To what do Carmichael and Donelson attribute this failure? They say, "Harshly put the snail that will continue to gnaw the dynamite in the ghetto: the impasse of decision-making, the mechanistic behavior, the inability to think boldly, and above all the unwillingness to believe. You see, our leaders really have our best interest at heart, but they suffer from the aforementioned handicaps and are therefore unable to serve us properly."

REP BOOK CRITIQUES
Bringing Radical Politics
into the Classroom
KEEP EYES

Let's face corporate capitalism as it is, degrades, oppresses and destroys us, and sends us to all corners of the earth in bloody streams of their exploitation, and creates billions of ghettos in the cities. It is only that our leaders are large, unwilling to know, and that our institutions are mechanistic.

Well Stokely, you are full of it. The corporatists are asleep and seductive for beyond your imagination. They can steal a dollar at eight thousand miles and send us out to fetch it back to them. They can sell Coca-Cola and refrigerators to a world that needs food; they can subvert and enrich not only countries but whole continents. They can buy off and exploit domestic radical movements; their institutions of domination and exploitation are quite up to date. They are even so clever as to be able to get a militant radical, a member of the most oppressed section of the people, to write a book expounding corporate philosophy. And that, although quite understood, is the lesson this book contains for the rest of us, which are set up to specifically challenge the content of a particular course taught by a college teacher.

0 chapter liberal education: It is hoped the critiques will also have value in such internal education activities as study groups, free universities, conferences, seminars, etc. It is hoped that the critiques will help stimulate a movement of political action. See, for example,...

of the defense planned by these attorneys, some "heads" are needed desperately. We plan to challenge the constitutionality of the Universal Military Training and Service Act without a formal Declaration of

Since this is the first direct contribution with the courts, it has been suggested that sympathetic demonstrations around the country might be helpful. We will notify you when our trials begin. If you are interested in this, if you have any other ideas, your suggestions will be appreciated.

The Colorado Residence is in the process of obtaining two new, permanent offices, one in Boulder and one in Denver. Until then, we can still be reached at 180 Armet, Boulder, Colo. 80502.

the University does not understand what civil liberties are

continued from page 1

In action. To that free speech is to defend our capacity to make such choices. To refrain from making choices is to say that beyond the laws of free speech we have no substantive values which we will express in action. If we do not subscribe to the actions we support, we cannot rectify the terrible injustices of the present world.

Whether the issue of the Vietnam war is more effectively presented by protest or education (that is, the exercise of speech, press, assembly) rather than by civil disobedience, is a question of tactics, and varies with each specific situation. Different student groups (at Harvard and M.I.T., for instance) have used one or another against Dow recruitment, and each tactic has its own advantages. I tend to favor the protest tactic for keeping the central issue of the war clear. But, if students or faculty engaged in civil disobedience, I would consider that morally defensible.

As to much for student-faculty action—the issue of the University administration? The University's acceptance of Dow Chemical recruiting is just another business transaction in especially dishonest, because it is the University which tells students repeatedly on certain occasions that it hopes students will be more than fact-absorbing sub-

jectively picked out for high training for previous radical activities (Ole-son, etc.)

Several hundred Harvard and Cambridge police stayed on alert, while the Harvard and Radcliffe dorms held council just off the corridor where we debated the situation target and demands. Since the university consistently disclaimed responsibility for Lawitt's presence, the question was whether Lawitt should promise never to come back himself or should call headquarters for Dow's corporate pledge.

at least to 1961 (expressing some 100 social service volunteers) demanded no parliament and a review of the political issues raised by the act. In remembering history, the faculty eventually put 31 undergraduates on probation and thereby approved a student-faculty administration committee to probe recruiting, protest, and university involvement with Dow. In his first such press conference since McCarthy days, President Jory announced that the parliament had been based solely on "the physical objection of an individual."

As argument carries much weight among liberal students and faculty. When we say that Dr. Lawitt's personal involvement was irrelevant or "the lesser of two evils," they hear "the end justifies the means." Few doubt that napalm is extraordinarily evil, and many would grant us claims of genocide. But to justify our actions at Harvard, we must show the specific ties of the university to the war, just as to justify McCarthy's debauched last year we had to show how he was using Harvard as a sounding board, liberating the ballistics distinction between battle and action (oppose the war but stay in line) is a feeling of distance from the war. Harvard is supposed to be neutral, a place for ideas instead of arms. We point out that ROTC trains students in violence, and that political groups like SNCC aren't allowed to recruit here. But these are correctable imperfections. Napalm signifies having the war a little closer to home, but depicting reactionary leaders for underdeveloped countries is a proper function of the Business School. Dow is our least viable enemy, and war recruitment will not end just because the CIA decided to stop Harvard this time. It is our job to turn horror of genocide into a determination to change the system we call "imperialism," or the military-industrial state. This state comes from the university.

may not express themselves on public issues. It is then (or not now, what the Old Testament) for the University

Resistance Busts

Don't Get Mad, Get Even!

Continued from page 1

servants both students and non-students were conducted by the University. Later reports have it that University officials spent considerable time held in various University offices to federal marshals. This overt collaboration surprised no one. Penn State receives 60% of its "research" budget from the Department of Defense. Further, Penn State operates on-campus facilities called the Ordnance Research Laboratories which develop small and medium capacity arms; the Thomas Water Tank carries out sophisticated underwater sound detection experiments and is an important national center for torpedo and underwater missile design and exportation. Penn State also operates a nuclear submarine test base under DOD contract in Italy. The Aerospace Engineering, Electrical Engineering and Psychology Departments are heavily subsidized by DOD money. University President Eric Walther, inventor of soccer, is on the Board of Directors of the Institute for Defense Analysis and the National Science Foundation; several years ago he served as the latter institution's president. Walther, a power-hungry fascist, had previously stated in private that University files were closed to federal investigative groups. It is obvious that a challenge to government suppression on the University's part would endanger both the fascist war budget and the personal power of Walther. Rather than being an act of complexity, University participation with the forces of fascism is a predictable act of brotherly solidarity. No one is particularly pleased off, we agree wholeheartedly with the decision of the honorable William "Don't get mad, get even."

Resistance Busts in Denver

Tom Harris
University of Colorado

and the first busts resulting from our October 15 action have been made known in Denver. Three students who returned their cards, Marshall Cooper of Denver University and Allan Rindley and myself of Colorado University, have been arrested on charges of "restraint by process" and "subversion of our armed forces. We were arrested on Friday, November 3, and taken

EAT DOG FOOD THIS THANKSGIVING

ALPO represents a scheme in our society. While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes live amidst superfluous abundance. Most the "profit-motivated" food pure beef to dogs while hundreds of millions of people beg for scraps. A lack of protein causes 25% to 40% of the 20 million babies born in India each year to eventually suffer some degree of birth damage. They are so mentally and physically stunted by lack of protein that they will never be able to concentrate sufficiently to absorb and retain knowledge. Millions of sub-humans are produced annually. ALPO does have a high concentration of protein, but it will be fed to dogs if that is more profitable. The world's population is expected to double in 20 years. Population in most hungry countries is growing much faster than in opulent countries. For instance, in Latin America population will almost triple from 250 million to about 700 million by the end of the century. If we are to avoid "The Biggest Failure in History" which poses a serious threat to peace, we must feed people before dogs, and place human values above dollar values. We hereby demand that the profit made by ALPO be given to help the starving people of the world. WRHP—World Health Institute of Poverty-less announced that it is planning to protest the feeding of ALPO dog food on Thanksgiving. Cases of ALPO dog food will be eaten by the demonstrators in front of the Allen Packing Company in Allentown Pa. The demonstration will begin at 10:00am November 23.

Dow at Harvard

Black Women's Harvard-Rockcliffe SOS

In early October, SOS started an educational campaign against the Central Intelligence Agency, asking Harvard not to host CIA recruiters in November. But intellectual resistance to university involvement with the war turned physical on October 25th when hundreds of students and faculty just back from Washington discovered a Dow Chemical Corporation recruiter mysteriously in their midst. As on-the-spot vote turned the early morning picket into a sit-in. Dow's Dr. Layette soon left Cornell Hall, explaining that his assistant would interview candidates there. But the demonstrators abandoned the "Alpo" for Mallinckrodt Hall, where Layette had again set up shop. At 10:00 Layette's class of students read the riot act to the first 140 sit-inners. Before he could ask spokesperson for their

"symbolically enacting a law which is urgently needed"

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to be protected by the due process clause of the 14th Amendment. It soon became established in constitutional law that the regulation of business was not a deprivation of a civil liberty, that what is known as "substantive due process" would apply only to cases where real persons were being deprived of their rights of free expression. Today, it is well established constitutionally that the U. S. government could make illegal the manufacture of napalm, and charge any persons prescribing for a napalm manufacturing company with conspiring to violate the law.

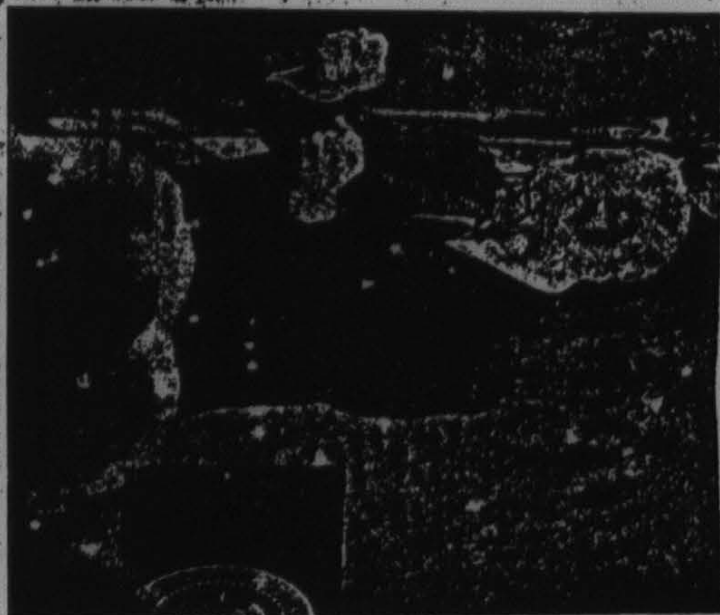
But there is no such law. Indeed, the government itself has ordered the napalm manufactured by Dow, and is selling it to burn and kill Vietnamese peasants. Should private citizens (law-abiding, lawfully—in this instance) act thus—acting, by physical intimidation, against Dow Chemical's business activities? To do so would be to "take the law into your own hands." That is exactly what civil disobedience is the temporary taking of the law into one's own hands, in order to declare what the law should be. It is a declaration that there is an incongruence between the law and human values, and that sometimes the law can only be publicized by breaking the law.

Civil disobedience can take two forms: violating a law which is, obviously, or symbolically violating a law which is legally needed. When Negroes sat at lunch counters, they were violating a law which they violated only because the recent mass slaughter in Indonesia, also symbolically smacking a public as-
saulting her own before it was

It seems to me there are two essential conditions for the right to civil disobedience. One is that the human value at stake must involve fundamental rights, like life, health, liberty. There is no real cause, for instance, to disobey a traffic light because it is inconveniently long. But human slavery, or racism, or war—these are overwhelmingly important. Thus, the argument "well, if everyone disobeyed the law every time it displeased them" falls before the observable fact that those who engage in civil disobedience are almost always law-abiding citizens who on certain very important issues deliberately, openly, temporarily violate the law to communicate a vital message to their fellow citizens.

What of Dow Chemical and napalm? Poor American physicians, in a report, "Medical Problems of South Vietnam," have written: "Napalm is a highly sticky, irremovable jelly which clings to anything it touches and burns with such heat that all oxygen in the area is exhausted within moments. Death is either by roasting or by asphyxiation. Napalm wounds are often fatal (fatalities are 90%). Those who survive face a living death. The victims are frequently children." Napalm is dropped daily on the villages, the forests, the people of Vietnam by American bombers; the saturation bombing of that tiny country is one of the cruelest acts perpetrated by any nation in modern history. It ranks with the destruction of Lidtze by the Germans, the crushing of the Hungarian rebellion by the Russians, the recent mass slaughter in Indonesia.

Dr. Richard E. Terry, an American physician, wrote in Redbook in January, 1967:



AP Wirephoto

However, illustrating all about how there's a difference between constructive dissent and aircraft carrier bullying, throwing journalist down in the road, smashing windows, roasting, and every time a person attempts to speak trying to drown him out. . . . all right. Because, after all, our Vietnam policy is the only sane response to a situation which is making "a little child in this room who was trying to wobble across the floor and come the badly started slumping it." (We have to fill up this space with something, and he sides, that now, it gives conference was so fine. The man is obviously extracting from a rapid loss of his mind.) As he says, "I'll have done a good job of anything story." Now, President, it is to ensure that there are plenty of dissenters. . . .

This brings us to the second condition for the lack of traffic lights. There have been legal channels for "retreating the of automobiles and of pedestrians, in presence. This is manifestly true in the order to temporarily regulate, or even case of the Vietnam war, which is better

must be paid. VUL-2, with an average monthly expenditure of about \$60 is like-wise unable to defray such a proportionately large expense.

This bill was incurred by every SDS chapter participating in the June Convention. Neither VOICE nor the NO can be expected to bear the expenses or administrative responsibilities alone—must be borne by us all. And that means the realization of the commitment to pay the chapter tax.

Few SDS chapters have made any attempt to pay the \$5.00 per national member agreed upon at the April NC. While the NO did agree to pay for the convention when VOICE accepted the responsibility of holding it in Ann Arbor, the chapters had made a previous commitment to support the NO.

What the chapter tax boils down to is a lack of commitment. Is that reality so much to ask, to demand the NO staff to continue to receive \$200 per week (two-thirds of substantial) throughout the winter, and to have VOICE from a hostile that may seriously undermine their efforts to organize the campus around the real issues?

Underground Press

Methodist University SDS Chapter dissolved itself under the heat of Pool's attack last month, the Dallas Draft Information Center was illegally evicted from its office and NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND was banned from campus in a double-whammy statement by the President of SAU defending freedom of the press.

This past year, Pool has introduced a bill to Congress to prevent the disruption of the Selective Service System, and still to prohibit Americans from sending tangible aid to any group engaged in armed conflict with the U.S. As a strong believer in "our beloved freedoms," Pool has recently urged the Congress should deny funds to any university which permits SDS to have an "expanded chapter on its campus."

an outburst for a total of 1 1/2 hours. The base was to be opened to the public. Having aimed out about 8 only 24 hours behind, and with no clear idea of what kind of action to take, SDS and Orange County Peace Center people showed up around 11:00 at Gate 1. Cars were streaming through, we all parked outside the gate and started demonstrating.

Outside, holding signs and giving leaflets to drivers. Civilian cops were harassing some kids, leaving their signs and leaflets behind, decided to go into the base and get a place from which to cheer No. 1 at appropriate places in his speech. Nothing doing—barriers of guards at the gate wouldn't allow kids who had been demonstrating.

"We don't have to justify our decisions to you—you'll stay off because we say so," was the answer. Rather than argue I walked back among the cars to hitch a ride through, taking off my sunglasses and SDS buttons so as not to be recognized. Two hippie-like guys in a truck picked me up.

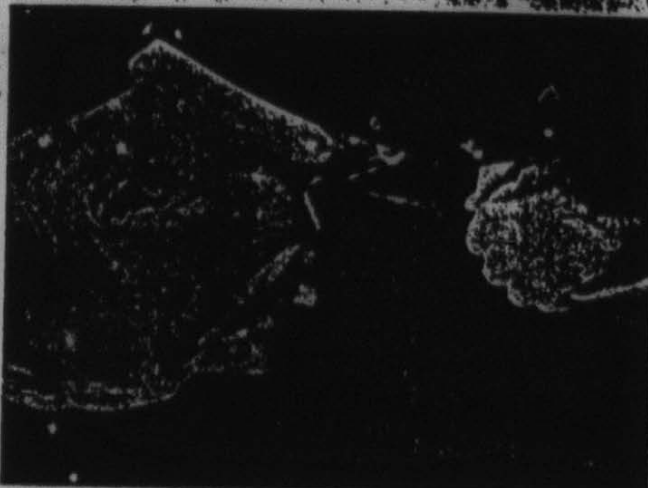
At the gate the MP's waved us over and looked through the back of the truck thoroughly for guns, I thought for grass the boys feared, but when they looked through a newspaper we realized it was for signs of leaflets. This was just like driving a car into East Germany.

We were allowed to drive onto the base, waved on by Marines, across dirt roads and fields. We passed school children holding signs—presumably pro-Johnson signs let in with no trouble. Finally we were told to park a mile and a half from the speaker's platform. When we got out of the car a man in civilian clothes materialized from nowhere and took away the leaflet I had given one of the boys, flashing a star in his wallet so quickly that I couldn't see what department of repression he was from. I put my button back on and we walked to the crowd of three long lines of people, waiting to get on buses to be taken back

ing, like to a drill squad. I took them off and handed them to him, wondering if he thought I was going to use the pins to stab the President. The guy started sending messages off via runners and a guard was assigned to watch me so the other guy could go on-bus-drinking people. I got to watch about 5 minutes. Each woman waiting to get on the bus had to open her purse, and the guy didn't just glance inside, he looked through everything in there including looking through a check-book. No one seemed to mind.

to point out that that is where Johnson is. He is clearly terrified of the people. The man has become clearly paranoid, setting up speaking situations that decrease his actual popularity, but allow him to continue in his mad delusion that the people do not hate him. He is deliberately hiding himself deeper and deeper in complete unreality; presumably his whole campaign will be conducted in places where the audience can be selected. The country is that far gone already.

from the Chicago Sun-Times, Nov. 18



"I believe very strongly in the right to dissent." (AP)

Selections Made for Cuba Trip

Jeff Shure
National Interim Committee
New York



SDS people hold a rally in front of the building used by police.

CHAPTER TAX NEEDED TO PAY CONVENTION DEBT

Don Shuster
Financial Secretary
SDS

The tax is about to descend on the University of Michigan VOICES (SDS) chapter in the form of the issue of the officially recognized National Convention. The issue is payable in barely a radical one—it is simply money. An outstanding bill of \$100, submitted by the SDS National Convention last June, must be paid by the end of the semester. In mid-December or VOICES will lose all of its rights to be considered a University facility. The National Office had agreed to pay all of the expenses of the Convention, ex-

cluding between human beings, judging friends, is a particularly difficult and unwanted task. In selecting people for the Cuba trip the primary criteria applied by the NCC was how much others in the movement would benefit from a particular person's experiences and political background. We looked toward choosing people who had recently been active in their own localities, and who would continue doing speaking and writing in their areas upon their return. The criteria of geographical distribution and importance to the person's political development were also considered.

The NCC was mandated by the national council to choose at least half of the members of the trip from chapters. The cases nominations came from only twelve chapters, the selection was weighed against those older, more well-known SDS members who are regional office members, campus travelers, etc. Many strong activists in the non-campus group were not selected because there were approximately 18 slots and thirty applications.

The new staff will take place in the early part of February. The SDS members will journey to Cuba via Mexico City if State Department travel permits can be obtained, or through Prague if they can't. Because the cost to each individual will be about \$500 if the journey must be made through Prague, and because the trip will coincide with many university's exam periods, a prioritized list of ten alternates were also chosen. One of the eleven national officers will participate in the trip as a leader and coordinator of the tour.

The names of the people selected, as well as the alternates, will be published in New Left Notes after they have been notified.

Old Scarbelly Meets The People (he thinks)

Patty Lee Parramore
UC Irvine SDS

Do you remember hearing some months ago (I believe it was after the massacre at June 22nd in Los Angeles) that John-son only wanted friendly comrades? And people pondered how the hell he was going to go campaigning? Since he has hardly emerged into the public at all since then, people may have forgotten.

That's all and a hell, I want first to one of the marches regarding the line and labeled it I couldn't walk instead of riding. The bus because I had to catch a plane and couldn't walk (irony, "No," he barked, "No, no, no, walk, anywhere, away from this line, and if we catch you trying...")

So we went to the end of a line and saw the officer in the blue pants with the... Then two big guys in civilian clothes came up, demanded to see my buttons, and one of them said really breathily, "God, ever there," nodding toward a guy that had just pulled up. I went, along with the other ones, who ordered me into the back in the same bus. He got in the front and ordered

Joe Pool Finds Commies 'Neath Radical Press Bush

LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

Marshall Bloom

A "preliminary investigation" of underground newspapers has been called for by HUAC member Joe Pool (D-Texas).

The call apparently came following a speech by Pool at the Conservative Party of the Yale Political Union on November 6, where Pool revealed that "I have information that throughout the United States underground newspapers will be published as a nationwide underground press syndicate. The purpose of these newspapers will be to slander and libel everyone who opposes these traitors in their attempts to destroy the American government."

Pool—who has already made a major point of his re-election campaign in Dallas the harassment of NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND, a member of LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE and the Underground Press Syndicate—did not state in his speech that he had called for the investigation of the underground press (although he did call for a HUAC investigation of SDS, Veterans for Peace, Committee for Independent Political Action, Stop the Draft-Work Committee, Progress for Labor Party, SNCC and Resistance).

This fact was revealed by his spokesman, who would not give her name for attribution. She stated that Pool could not reveal whether the preliminary investigation of the underground press had been begun by HUAC, since its executive sessions are private.

The Yale speech was given two weeks after the meeting of LMS and UPB which was attended by 300 newspaper representatives. This meeting on the eve of the October 21 Postage Conference may have been Pool's reference, since the article on

more Congressmen who nationalize more and more industries, so begins to glimpse a movement dialectically advancing toward democracy. The probability is that we will still have hope, to know that in Western industrialized societies in the twentieth century there have been resistance movements which came to the threshold of socialism, of power. The most striking instance was the Spartacus movement in Germany during World War I. There were no foreign invaders, as in France during World War II, nor was the presence of a friendly foreign army required to create a revolutionary situation, as in World War II Italy. Germany defied in the summer of 1918 very nearly made it possible for a movement which had opposed the war with the slogan, "The main enemy is at home" to become the German government.

The Spartacus experience brings us back to resistance to the Vietnam war for the possibility of revolution in World War I Germany grew directly from both opposition to the imperialist policy of our own government. (It is even the case that the strongest Spartacus constituency was in Stuttgart, where during the war special efforts had been made to assist deserting soldiers.) It would appear justified tentatively to extrapolate the tactical lessons of the movement against the war in Vietnam into a sketch of a resistance strategy.

First, imperialist war rather than economic depression creates the revolutionary situation. The tendency to economic depression has been held in check in our lifetime. Since World War I American radicals have lacked real resistance on both counts.

Second, majority support. We need to analyze comparatively the resistance movements of Yugoslavia, China and Vietnam (which exhibited foreign invaders and had gross), the resistance movements of France and Italy (which mobilized mass resistance to fascism but did not try to take power), and the resistance

movements in the present, and the resistance movements in the past. The probability is that we will still have hope, to know that in Western industrialized societies in the twentieth century there have been resistance movements which came to the threshold of socialism, of power. The most striking instance was the Spartacus movement in Germany during World War I. There were no foreign invaders, as in France during World War II, nor was the presence of a friendly foreign army required to create a revolutionary situation, as in World War II Italy. Germany defied in the summer of 1918 very nearly made it possible for a movement which had opposed the war with the slogan, "The main enemy is at home" to become the German government.

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ON RESISTANCE STRATEGY

by Paul Slattery

The Movement has reached a very difficult stage. On the one hand, the need to get everywhere to move beyond a resistance mood and elicit resistance tactics to a strategy of resistance. Sharp personal opposition to aggressive authority has been established as a style. "We won't go" and "We're the military of the computer" have proved themselves as tactics designed to disrupt the government of tomorrow. There is a general consensus amongst us that what comes next is the creation of a functional equivalent to a revolutionary party, or to say the same thing differently, the creation of a long-term strategy for achieving a socialist American which dispenses and overcomes the work of individuals and local groups. Almost without words, as if by tacit agreement, resistance to the war in Vietnam has taken on the dimension of building a long-term resistance movement against fascism, and for socialism.

United States. In addition to extremely difficult objective circumstances, poor leadership and inadequate attitudes contributed to the failure of the latter. The American Communist Party believed in the 1930's as if it lacked confidence in the possibility of leading in its own name; it believed in the late 1940's and 1950's as if it depended on the law, rather than on the people, to protect it. The traditional style of revolutionary socialists is to use legal proceedings to prosecute the prosecutors, in the same way that the socialist elected to legislative bodies speaks "Church and State" through the witness, not to his fellow legislators but to the people out of doors. This attitude was magnificently exemplified by Eugene Debs when under trial for sedition in World War I. But it cannot be assumed mechanically. It requires confidence that the people can be reached.

Our own concern to organize in white working-class consciousness would appear to indicate a resurgence of such confidence. Along with that confidence there will develop, hopefully, a less earlier attitude toward American revolutionary traditions. Without denying the "bourgeois democratic" features of the American Revolution, the abolitionist movement, the labor movement, even of black radicalism in many of its phases, we like Debs ought to be able to find a tradition at our backs, to distinguish those features of earlier movements which were characteristic of racism or a belief in private property from such enduring concepts as the right to revolution, internationalism ("my country over mine"), and an inviolable one at home.

The industrial reserve army is absorbed in the front-line conscript army of imperialism. Second, however much American society may have stabilized as "affluent society" at home, its international position is eroding. Socialism continues to spread across the face of the earth. Like the South on the eve of the Civil War, American capitalism is economically expansive and yet fundamentally on the defensive against a more productive economic system which grows and spreads more rapidly than itself. Wars like the war in Vietnam therefore become chronic. Perhaps, in the Chinese words, it will even be the case before long that the United States will find itself involved in several such wars at once. Or those who govern the United States may be mad enough to take on revolutionary China. In either case, imperialist war-making would make more sense than upon American society, the possibilities of resistance would cease to be merely tactical and become strategic. One would begin to be able to consider a movement which sought not merely to end one war, but to end the system which produced the war.

Third, it must be expected that as the defense of world capitalism becomes more demanding, and as resistance to that defense grows stronger in the United States, the American government will turn toward repression. We should not be lulled by the fact that the Vietnam war toward repression. We should not be lulled by the fact that the Vietnam war has not yet reached the level of McCarthyism. For, as this, there is a real "Communist movement" overseas but an invented one at home; to organization, if we can become more

Resistance in action at Ossining, Oct. 24, where over 1000 people were arrested by local police and the FBI.

any that our intent was to work within an anti-imperialist framework, directing the action against university complicity with the military-industrial complex wherever possible, and that, if that failed, we would concentrate on the streets. We had no real power considerations on our mind at the moment. It seemed at the Mobilization NC that most SDS people did not want to call for a nationwide student strike as a specific goal, but rather, wanted general campus groups to develop their own action based on their local conditions, striking if and when it became a viable tactic at the local level.

Indiana University

Continued from page 3

the next meeting. Three student representatives were State and got nowhere with him. He gave the students the "I have no power" talk.

The next day, the Dean of Students announced that he was placing all 26 to 40 students involved in the Dow demonstration on official disciplinary probation, thus an official disciplinary prohibition.

Student Government, being constitutionally prohibited by the President of the Student Body, an SDS member, passed a resolution condemning the Dean of Students' action.

There is some talk that the idea of Mobilization is not "to give" five of us. The administration subscription is public, at least, to the emergency library. They want to rid the campus of those who have been sent away to make trouble.

And all this is by no means over. And the campus knows it. Most important, the people in Bryan administration building have a new awareness of just what kind of changes we might be able to bring about. For Davis Elder learned something too. The student representatives who had the meeting with him gave him the full state of the University message: the move from

per se is an important factor and on which we want to succeed. It seemed also that the type of action the Student Mobilization is talking about calling could possibly have a detrimental effect on our strike and subsequent action that we might want to take. Because a call has been issued by an organization for a single day strike, campus groups that are in a position to organize toward a strike will in many cases plan to hold theirs on the 18th. That will have the effect of straining the development of local political groups in the kind of way that was seen as undesirable at the Madison NC.

As an organization, the Student Mobilization does not have the constituency to pull off a mass strike, and would be relying mainly on our people to add the numbers to their mass of American students. The feeling of the people at the NC meeting was that SDS should make its decision at the December NC as to whether it should have a strike or not, and if the decision is made to go ahead with the strike, then we should set up a strike committee and invite other organizations, like the Student Mobilization, to send proportional representation to that committee.

It is important to understand this decision in the context of the NC decision to recommend to SDS at the December NC that there be more active participation in the National Mobilization. Davidson's proposal for a "National Week of Resistance" called by the National Mobilization Committee could include a part of that nationwide resistance, some of those SDS strikes. The Student Mobilization committee could put their efforts in to organizing campus and community demonstrations that would tie in with the "weeks of resistance" and the Wisconsin holiday of March 18th, without hurting the politics we would be trying to create with our strike.

One of the interesting parts of the Student Mobilization meeting was the discussion about voting representation at the December Student Body meeting to take care of calling the strike. The Davidson committee wanted to give an NCNP type 50-50 split to any black caucus that

National Interim Committee

New York

With the echo of the latest march in Washington still in our heads, the NC took up the problem of the SDS role in the National Mobilization with a view to developing a new program of fuller participation in national actions. It was observed that at all the marches SDS chapters have not a significant bulk of the demonstrators, but SDS has had little voice in the planning of the actions themselves. The old stance that activists' energies are better put to use in grass roots actions with a view to building a solid radical base, was not personally questioned. Rather it was re-examined as a model for many in the movement to have periodic national actions in order to develop local organizing. It was also argued that SDS' somewhat aloof posture from national marches has been interpreted as divisive to the general peace movement and that efforts should be made to better integrate SDS programs with those of other groups.

A decision was made to go to the National Mobilization committee meetings and argue for a restructuring of the committee to more closely represent the numbers which the various organizations actually turn out for actions. Besides arguing for a more representative restructuring, a spring national action—International Week of Resistance—was suggested. It was seen that only all-out peace movements in a militant common campaign, while having such organizations free to plan actions in accordance with the will of its membership. Thus SDS might integrate the abiding strike program into the weeks of resistance, while local resistance groups are disrupting the draft centers, while draft peace groups might decide to announce draft refusal, etc.

They principal arguments for the plan were put forward. It was seen that as national student groups increasingly contribute to the war, the establishment forces will move to nullify the peace movement, including the radicals who argue that the war is a logical outgrowth of the American political-economy and that the major issues confronting the society are interrelated, from the modern-day forces who, if a crisis occurred, might well put their resources into a project like turning out the vote for Eugene McCarthy in key democratic primaries. It seemed particularly important at this time to establish a working relationship with the base radical peace movement.

A second argument for working in the National Mobilization committee concerned several NC members' perceptions that black organizations were operating up to the idea of working within the peace movement with white organizations. A restructuring of Mobilization committee was seen as a forum where a working alliance based on the mutual respect developed during October 14 to 21 might take place. Thirdly, sentiment was expressed a continuation of symbolic national actions, and it was thought instead of promoting a new program, it would be better to "work" with other groups in formulating plans for a "week of resistance."

Carl Davidson was put in overall charge of the program, with other NC members providing assistance. A report of progress and a proposal will be brought to the December National Council meeting. Because the National Council is clearly a higher policy-making body than the NC, all NC members feel that the outlined program could only be subjectively processed, until the NC give its approval or disapproval, or changed or amended the plan.

Want a printing press for your chapter?

How many?
New York City?
Contact:
SDS-New York Region
c/o The Laboratory
41 Union Sq. N. Box 60
New York, New York

Various and Sundry Reports, Thoughts, etc. On the NIC, SDS-Mob. Relationships, etc.

Report on the Student Mobilization Committee in General and the National Student Strike in Particular ...

Jack Shuman
New York Regional Office

One of the common injuries received by SDS people at the Pentagon was internal hemorrhaging caused by Linda Meyer's announcement that the Student Mobilization Committee was calling for a nationwide student strike on March 15. She had been asked by the Vietnamese in Berkeley to coordinate a student strike and related campus protests around the March 15th date, because that is the anniversary of the First Vietnamese student protests against American military presence in Vietnam.

I went to the SDS meeting in New York, May, 4, to talk about our various conceptualizing of what an effective student strike might be, and to find out just what they had in mind. It became apparent that the relationship between symbolic protest, and concrete political action still remains very fuzzy. Their conception of the strike was not set as many students from around the country as possible on March 15, but the number, and above that, just the fact that American students are still opposed to the war.

I explained that SDS had been thinking

It seemed that the essential differences were between the SDS conception of a strike designed to build local political movements, some with the serious intent of ending campus complicity, as opposed to the Student Mobilization conception, which was the old mass mobilization thing, only given the name "strike" and occurring in local areas.

They were very conscious of the fact that SDS had been thinking about calling for a national student strike and they were very up-tight about their attempt to co-opt us by calling for the strike themselves. For a while, however, it seemed that they might actually do that. In the end, they decided to begin contacting people nationally and internationally, raising the idea of a strike and calling for a national conference somewhere in December or January (after SDS has had the December NC, and some people from SNCC have had the chance to raise the idea at the December staff meeting).

The question of the Student Mobilization and the National Student Strike very decreased at the just-completed NIC meeting in Chicago. It seemed to those of



**The '68 March
on Washington**
And More Particularly
the SDS Relationship

...to what change at the most basic levels of economic, political, and social organization. However, I cannot agree with the methods which consist of a week of nonpartisan and nonsectarian workshops in other areas of life. I am still for a world of peace without strikes and armaments, but I can see no way to improve it in the manner which most of the members of SDS with which I am acquainted with R. Pech, as Pope John XIII says, "must be built up daily by words of peace." It is a necessary task, but it will take a great deal of time. Men must be taught to love one another, or at least not to see other races.

We must seek this through fundamental change in the areas of education, housing, employment, and so on and to all forms of discrimination. It will not be effected through revolution. All revolutions are superficial if they do not touch the deepest levels of humanity.

I do not understand those whose conviction is that they cannot serve in the military, for example, the teaching on "just war," but long have a feeling of the Church, nevertheless, there are morally appropriate ways to protest such ways which are not illegal.

1. The role of the student movement in the broader movement for radical change.
2. Direction and potential of white organizing.
3. Direction and importance of the anti-military on campus movement. The student strike.
4. Stop the Draft Week as a program for relating the student movement to off-campus groups.
5. Strategy concerning SDS, electoral campaigning and the Democratic Convention.
6. Long-range anti-imperialist politics and the movement. The importance of the concept of anti-imperialism to the movement.

NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by students for a Democratic Society, 1008 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Send money today and August when publication is bi-weekly. Prices \$12.00-\$15.00. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1 per year for members, \$15 per year for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editors.

Carol Robinson and Lyn Knapik.

MEMBERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Davidson, labor-organizational secretary; Robert Funder, Internal Education secretary; Mike Spigel, National secretary.

National Office: 1008 W. Madison, 2nd Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60611 (312) 664-3870

New York City: 41 Union Square West, rm. 604 NYC, NY 10003 (212) 677-4525

Chicago Regional Organizing Committee: PO Box 8751, River Campus Station, Evanston, Ill. 60201

San Francisco: PO Box 8534, Los Angeles, California 90077

Los Angeles: 601 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Washington, D.C.: 3775 Landon Pl., N.W.

Don from leaving the building.

Prof. Robert Coburn, chairman of the BU physics department, told Don recorder Dean Waterfield that he could leave the building only by stepping over hundreds of bodies, Coburn's husband, BU dean of students Sharon R. Curtis, who is also a commander in the naval reserves, then announced that Waterfield was prepared to leave.

The Don recorder stepped on the student's bodies until he reached the first floor of the building, where a general uproar of shouts of "assault" and "murder" brought a crowd of campus, city and Metropolitan District Commission police.

While waiting in his car in the rear of the building, Waterfield was surrounded by students and teachers who threw stones, took air out of the car tires, and blooded his seat for about 45 minutes.

The Central Intelligence Agency has cancelled its on-campus interviews scheduled for January 30.

The BU administration, which issued a warning prior to the demonstration that obstructive tactics "cannot be permitted" has to date taken no action against the demonstrators.

Raymond Mingo

LIBERATION News Service

U OF KENTUCKY

LINCOLN, Ky.—Four people were arrested Nov. 4 by the University of Kentucky Safety and Security Department for sitting in the doorway of a Defense Intelligence Agency recruiter. The four were arrested when they remained after most of the SDS demonstrators had agreed to move as requested by the Dean of Students.

UCR AND THE USAF

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT RIVERSIDE—Twenty-five people sat down at the entrance to an office where two Air Force recruiters were spending the day at UCR on Wednesday, Nov. 3. They were arrested by having a 14-inch path for passage of those who wanted to see the recruiters. However, no one went to arrest the demonstrators. Also at the demonstration was the Immigration Army Day, a collection of hundreds of people to make more noise than music.

According to the UCR Daily Enderby, Joel Zaslavsky, one of the SDS members in the demonstration said, "We left our 14 inches today. Maybe we won't next time."

DRAFT RESISTER

CHARGED

CINCINNATI, Ohio—Don Brenaway, an 18-year-old high school student who refused to register for the draft, is now facing charges brought against him Nov. 9 for violation of the selective service law. Brenaway, who was recently expelled from Lakota High School in Ohio for refusing to take out a "Tolerance" badge or to quit discussing draft resistance with his classmates, was reported in Federal Court by members of the Tabor Springs Draft Resistance, Denver.

Brenaway's arrest took place two hours before a scheduled conference on the possibility of his reinstatement in school. On the day of his arrest, the Lakota High School principal said, "I have to stop the flow of demonstrators against the presence of Don on campus at Lakota University in Bloomington."

DOW AND RUSK

AT INDIANA

On Monday, December 30, there was a demonstration against the presence of Dow Chemical at Ball State University in Bloomington.

LETTERS

It is also considered a vice—Power at the Postage—very distressing. What I agree that the sense of hostility of the American system needs to be dispelled. I disagree that "the aim should be to make them (corps, China, Macedonia, etc) hostile to every body, not just one another. They do not look hostile to me. They are not just hostile to American Black people, Vietnamese, Guatemalans and Bolivians. It is as hostile to the millions of human beings whose lives are reduced by the U.S. to callous indifference as it is to the Blacks. The Postcard is hostile and embarrasing and

...and, playing it safe with rich, weak, blind, but still, angel, ignorant people, I am trying to fight a powerful, official, badly organized and delinquent murderer.

"This is a good—let us remember who we are.—A group of middle class kids." They have been mild and useful to regard—our parents and high schools as foolish. But, I presume, they had neither the desire nor the means to murder us and hundreds of others, daily, for profit.

THE LANCET

Robertson says the pressing reason for his resignation, the fact that my membership in SDS might alienate people whom I must serve is also a consideration. It is too difficult to reach people without such irrelevant things distracting them. Most that pursuit of morally necessary goals is unimportant, but where mere membership in an organization which has members in it whose goals and methods are unacceptable to me and I am sure that people to whom I am attempting to minister are attracted by those people and I am thus unable to reach them, then such membership is not only a liability it is a positive liability. In some cases, I feel that whatever reform is needed, and much is needed, that I should pursue those through more normal political and social landmarks.

Sincerely yours,
Henry F. Robertson
Immunology Conception Seminary
Conception, Mo. 64133

NIC Minutes

The NEC decided to change the date of the Conference on SDS and the Working Class. The Full NEC had proposed that such a conference be held at the Winter NC but it was felt that a much better conference could be held if more time were allowed for setting it up. Therefore,

NIC Minutes

CAMPUS

BOSTON SIT-IN

The Wednesday, November 15 sit-in at the scene 200 Boston University students gathered protesters from the Don Chemical Company on their campus started as a quiet, uneventful protest and ended with density and students lining three floors of BU's placement building with their bodies and parading the trapped Dow plant's car in the midst of the worst November Blizzard in Boston history.

The anti-Dow demonstrators, none of whom gathered outside the placement building all day in the storm, originally intended to give the recruiter the access and exit to the placement offices, according to Craig Kaplan, BU junior and member of Student Congress.

Following a rally at which Prof. Henry T. Allen spoke and the appearance on campus

Don Chemical
Chapter Text
Journal A
Total: \$100.00

Boe Sumner
Financial Secretary

Deductions
Balance

NEWS

Telephone (202) 67-44
Gas & Electric (202) 67-41
Rent (202) 67-42
Dishes: 50.00
Mileage: 44.87
Total: \$170.36

STILL IN

54

CAMPUS NEWS

BOSTON SIT-IN

The Wednesday, November 15, 8:30 a.m. session 300 Boston University students in a packed rec room at the Dow Chemical Company on their campus started at a quiet, uneventful protest and ended with faculty and students filling three floors of BU's placement building with their bodies and jamming the trapped Dow man's car in the middle of the next morning's blizzard in Boston history.

The next-Dow demonstrator, none of whom pleaded outside the placement building all day in the storm, originally intended to give the rec room five access and exit to the placement offices, according to Craig Kaplan, BU labor and member of Student Congress.

Following a rally at which President Nixon spoke and the appearance on campus

of 24 by 6 foot tall effigy, "Goliath," the effigy lawyer "has been" sent back; the students have yet had to appear. The lawyer is hopeful that he can get the disciplinary commit charges declared unconstitutional as was recently done in *Yickowick*.

The next day, October 11, the last general Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, was a truly eventful occasion. The sub-
stantiation, of course, cried out lightest
the violation of five speech. Because the
but earlier forced the administration to
into Howard T. Day, they had felt the
and spoke the man in the auditorium
who was only "making his point." They
had understood that we were only mak-
ing our point. Perhaps to make our point
have effectively been over before. This
the our point couldn't be missed. In a

TALE WITH A TRAGIC ENDING

EXPENSES		EXPENSES	
Lithographs	224.00	Post Office	82.50
Contributions	164.00	Treasury	340.00
Pledges	71.40	Subscriptions	345.00
Salaries	71.50	Office & BOC supplies	73.11
Miscellaneous	84.00	Printing Supplies	452.51
Exchanges	84.00		
NYN Ads	84.00	Car Expenses	8.00
Printing	204.75	Transportation	18.22
Loans	84.00	Pledges	64.87
Chapter Tax	84.00	Telephone (BOC)	67.48
Journal A:	15.00	Gas & Electric (BOC)	34.41
Total	1518.46	Post (BOC)	15.00
		Dishes	24.07
		Miscellaneous	94.87
		Total	1770.25
Boo Sumner			
Financial Secretary			
Deductions			
Balance \$178.16			

For local board No. 78
Tulsa Oklahoma
Call 7-1777
Ladies 1 Brown Street

BUST OF ANTI-VAIR ACTIVISTS BEGINS

Draft Card Burners Called to NY for Federal Grand Jury

Mail Buckle

STATE COLLEGE, PA.

An underground network of draft card burners, who are being hunted by federal marshals and the Army, is being exposed by a grand jury in New York City. The grand jury, which is composed of 24 members, is expected to return indictments against the draft card burners in the next few weeks. The grand jury is also expected to return indictments against the draft card burners who are being hunted by federal marshals and the Army. The grand jury is also expected to return indictments against the draft card burners who are being hunted by federal marshals and the Army.

Telephone contact with other newspaper sources on November 9 indicated that the group was part of a nationwide draft card burning campaign. The group is expected to return indictments against the draft card burners in the next few weeks. The grand jury is also expected to return indictments against the draft card burners who are being hunted by federal marshals and the Army.

AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Dow Shalt Not Kill

WARD ZIEGLER
LIBERATION FROM DOW

OW'S new chemical, a product of Dow Chemical, has been found to be a deadly poison. The chemical is called "Agent Orange" and is used in the Vietnam War. It is a powerful herbicide that kills trees and shrubs. It is also a powerful poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people.

First, it comes to me that the "Agent Orange" is a deadly poison. It is a powerful herbicide that kills trees and shrubs. It is also a powerful poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people.

Second, it comes to me that the "Agent Orange" is a deadly poison. It is a powerful herbicide that kills trees and shrubs. It is also a powerful poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people.

However, the chemical is called "Agent Orange" and is used in the Vietnam War. It is a powerful herbicide that kills trees and shrubs. It is also a powerful poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people.

Third, it comes to me that the "Agent Orange" is a deadly poison. It is a powerful herbicide that kills trees and shrubs. It is also a powerful poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people.

Fourth, it comes to me that the "Agent Orange" is a deadly poison. It is a powerful herbicide that kills trees and shrubs. It is also a powerful poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people. It is a deadly poison that kills people.

100-43014-2172

Volume 3, September 88

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

November 20, 1957

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
LOCAL BOARD NO. 76
222 FEDERAL BUILDING
TULSA, OKLAHOMA 74106

November 13 1967

John Milton Butler
730 Chicago Inn 15
Norman Oklahoma 74060

SS No: 34-76-48-723

For this is being transmitted to the State Director for consideration by the Appeal board for consideration of a classification in class II-S.

Hershey Directive Followed

General Lewis B. Ransby's present assignment to the effect had surprised him, but it is so that the board are holding it very easy with the first year is immediately reclassified 1, 2, two years or 400 hours.

And the Tulsa Oklahoma grand board has taken Ransby's directorship step further, is reclassifying University of Oklahoma President John Baker from 3 to 7, because of his involvement in KKK activities. A number of KKK in 2 years received notice of his reclassification on November 2, he filed an appeal on November 13, and later received the letter about members with recruiting or causing in-

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. Loach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 5, 1967

FROM: C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

As you know, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) constitutes the key organization within the New Left Movement. It is the primary vehicle for action initiated by the movement. It is clearly a subversive group. It is a self-proclaimed anarchistic group whose spokesmen boast of their determination to end our form of Government.

Recently, there has been a noticeable stepping up of SDS-instigated activities featuring violence. More and more, SDS spokesmen are directing members of their chapters and their supporters to step up their resistance to established authority in protest demonstrations and to engage in "direct confrontation" with authorities.

The net result is that SDS is spearheading a growing movement whose activities at the hard core encompass a variety of violations--violations of local and Federal laws as well as violations of many college and university regulations.

This bold and blatant challenge to law and order in our society puts SDS in the forefront of the new militant, revolutionary wave of subversion whose growth we have witnessed in recent years.

We have closely followed the growth of the New Left Movement and the key role played by SDS and we feel that the increased militancy demonstrated recently demands a stepped-up investigative approach on our part. We should have as great an in-depth informant coverage of SDS as we have of the Communist Party because the former is clearly as subversive as the latter and, at the present time at least, much more openly militant.

Enclosure - sent 12-5-67

100-439048

WNP:rwf (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CONTINUED - OVER

12 DEC 12 1967

78 DEC 12 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439948

As you know, Communist Party leader Gus Hall has described SDS as an organization the Party has going for it and it is certainly true in regard to the disorder, disruption, confusion, and chaos SDS is spreading throughout the country.

Establishing in-depth informant coverage of SDS will be a major task. It claims to have more than 250 chapters around the country, mainly on campuses. However, we can do the job and do it effectively and discreetly even though SDS is campus-oriented. Existing instructions give the field latitude to develop the coverage needed and at the same time insure that the Bureau is in position to give the field the necessary guidance and to maintain proper control over such efforts. The field should understand clearly that we want complete coverage of all SDS chapters.

The fact is we must have it if we are to be able to fulfill our responsibilities to be completely aware of the increasingly militant activities of SDS and the New Left Movement. We can expect these to increase still more because authorities down the line have failed to take a stand to curb the growing militancy of SDS and its cohorts and, in effect, have thus encouraged greater militancy.

Perhaps one of these days the authorities will wake up and move. When that time comes, the educators will expel troublemakers; local authorities will make arrests; and even the Department will authorize prosecution. In the meantime, however, we should not sit idly by because others are shirking their responsibilities. We should insure that we are on top of the situation and there is attached an airtel to all offices directing the field to conduct a detailed survey of SDS to identify all chapters, officers and activists, and to note the degree of informant coverage and what programs can be put into effect to establish coverage where none exists.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel be sent to all offices in line with above observations. No Handbook or Manual changes are necessary.

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1967

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

935AM URGENT 12-11-67 EMS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS.

GEN

C.D. Br...
K...

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY LOYOLA UNIVERSITY SDS CHAPTER, SIX FIVE FIVE FIVE NORTH SHERIDAN ROAD, CHICAGO, PLANS DEMONSTRATION TODAY AT FLAGPOLE ON TRACK FIELD AT LOYOLA UNIVERSITY ELEVEN AM CST TO PROTEST WAR IN VIETNAM AND SELECTIVE SERVICE.

SOURCE ADVISED DEMONSTRATORS PLAN TO PUBLICLY "WASH AMERICAN FLAG" TO PROVOKE VIOLENCE AND INVITE ARRESTS TO GIVE CAUSE TO CHARGES OF POLICE BRUTALITY AS WELL AS RECRUIT MORE STUDENTS TO SDS.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY, CHICAGO PD ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. LHM FOLLOWS.

~~E CORR LN 5 1ST WD UNIVERSITY~~ EX-109

END

SAA

FBI WASH DC

55256181967

CC MR SULLIVAN

MR DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

DEC 11 10 30 AM '67

DEC 13 1967

100-439048-2174

5-MP

FBI

Date: 12/7/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

PLAIN

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-433046)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-43303)

SUBJECT: FOR / DISSEMINATED DOCUMENT (SND)
10-305

In the issue of "New Left Notes" dated 12/4/67 an announcement the following announcement was made:

"December 27-31 National Council, Minneapolis. 1. 1. 0

"Chapter wishing to be represented at the 1st show" also: the delegates as soon as possible, and send their names in to the national office by December 30th."

All offices receiving copies of this airtel are requested to conduct their information in an effort to obtain information coverage of this forthcoming NS meeting and advise the Bureau, Indianapolis and Chicago.

Chicago will follow this matter closely and keep the Bureau and all interested offices advised.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Albany (RM)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM)
- 2 - Kansas City (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - Minneapolis (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - Omaha (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 2 - St. Louis (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

REC-25

12 DEC 11 1967

INT. SEC.

1 DEC 11 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1967

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

455PM DEFERRED 12/11/67 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS.

REMYTEL TODAY.

BUREAU AGENTS AND CHICAGO PD OBSERVED SCENE OF PROPOSED
DEMONSTRATION LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, TEN FORTY AM TO
TWO FIFTEEN PM.

DEMONSTRATORS FAILED TO APPEAR AND NO DEMONSTRATION TOOK
PLACE. CONTACTS WITH TWENTIETH DISTRICT CHICAGO PD THROUGHOUT
DAY REVEALED NO DEMONSTRATION TOOK PLACE.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY ADVISED. NO LHM
FOLLOWS IN VIEW OF LACK OF ACTIVITY.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC

EX-113

100-25

100-439048-12176

18 DEC 13 1967

66 DEC 19 1967

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1967

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

455PM DEFERRED 12/11/67 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS.

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TWO FIFTEEN PM.

DEMONSTRATORS FAILED TO APPEAR AND NO DEMONSTRATION TOOK
PLACE. CONTACTS WITH TWENTIETH DISTRICT CHICAGO PD THROUGHOUT
DAY REVEALED NO DEMONSTRATION TOOK PLACE.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY ADVISED. NO LHM
FOLLOWS IN VIEW OF LACK OF ACTIVITY.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC

EX-113

DEC 25

100-439048-12176

18 DEC 13 1967

66 DEC 19 1967

FBI

Date: 12/6/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-SDS

ReBuairtel to Albany dated 12/5/67 and SAC letter 67-29 dated 5/24/67.

In reBuairtel dated 12/5/67 it was stated that in view of the growing militancy on the part of SDS and its demonstrated propensity for violence, every existing SDS chapter must be identified as to officers, leading activists and current activities and that informant coverage of high level quality must be established in each chapter.

A review of the activities of the SDS chapters presently in existence in the Chicago Division reflects that there are currently SDS chapters located on all of the major university campuses located within the Chicago Division and memberships in these chapters are restricted to students only. In order to obtain the desired coverage of these SDS chapters and to insure the Bureau's requirements and interests are fully covered, it is imperative the Chicago Office immediately place informants within these SDS chapters.

Chicago will immediately review the pertinent files to identify students at the various universities and colleges where SDS chapters are currently chartered who have in the past expressed a willingness to assist the Bureau and who possess the maturity, intelligence and reliability to penetrate these SDS campus-type chapters without posing a threat of possible embarrassment to the Bureau. In each case a letter containing all known background concerning each prospective source will be submitted for Bureau approval before any contact is made.

(3) - Bureau (RM)

2 - Chicago

1 - [redacted] b7D

ELS:meb

(5)

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

10 DEC 8 1967

REC 27 100-437048-2177
 REC 7
 CC 932 SDH, P

C. C. Bishop

731

Date: 12/12/67

(Type in plaintext if needed)

(Priority)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI

SAC, CHICAGO (100-44687)

RE: ACT-DRIFT ACTIVITIES
 NOVEMBER 4 - 8, 1967
 INFORMATION CONCERNING (IC)
 OO: NEW YORK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

Re my teletype dated 12/1, 2, 3/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 3 copies of a
 memorandum (100-44687) which sets forth information
 regarding a demonstration sponsored by the Chicago Student
 Mobilization Committee protesting the North American
 Free Trade Agreement of commercial goods and services at the
 University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, on 12/4/67. The
 memorandum is enclosed and is a copy of a letterhead memorandum
 of the University of Chicago Students for a Democratic Society
 Committee protesting on President JOHNSON's contemplated visit
 to the University of Chicago in connection with the above
 controversy.

ENCLOSURE UNCLASSIFIED BY 1259
 CATEGORY 2
 DATE 11-7-88 JSP/BTS

- 100-44687 (IC)
- 100-44687 (SAC THE DEPT WEEK, CHA; SEATTLE; SAN, 100)
- 100-44687 (VTDAL)
- 100-44687 (STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE)
- 100-44687 (SDS)
- New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
- Chicago
- 100-44687 (CHICAGO STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE)
- 100-44687 (SDS)
- 100-44687 (VTDAL)

100-44687, CHA, CS, SAC, CHA

100-44687, CHA, CHA

12 DEC 28 1967

Sent

MAIL

in Charge

See Serial

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Two copies of this LHM are being furnished the New York Office in view of their interest in this matter.

One copy each of the above LHM is being furnished to the United States Attorney, Chicago; United States Secret Service, Chicago; and Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

Chicago files contain insufficient information to adversely characterize the Chicago Student Mobilization Committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
December 12, 1967

100-13617

CONFIDENTIAL

ANTI-DRAFT ACTIVITIES
DECEMBER 4 - 8, 1967

CLASSIFIED BY 1259
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
11-7-78 JST/BTS

b1

[REDACTED]

(C)

b7D

On [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the Chicago Student Mobilization Committee, a coordinating body of Chicago area students opposed to the war in Vietnam, sponsored a picket demonstration with approximately 50 individuals participating at Stagg Field, the University of Chicago, 57th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, December 2, 1967. The demonstration which started at 10 p.m. was in protest to the 25th anniversary celebration of the discovery of controlled atomic energy at the University of Chicago. Demonstrators carried signs reading "Stop the draft, yankee go home." [REDACTED] advised that the demonstration was peaceful and ended at 3:40 p.m. with the occurrence of no incidents or arrests.

b7D

On [REDACTED] he has furnished reliable information in the past and advised that a student was found on a University of Chicago campus [REDACTED]

1482 8971/AS
2/23/88
CLASSIFIED BY
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
pg 1 para 1

CONFIDENTIAL
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

101 1-9 12-

ACTIVITIES
- 3, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

The leaflet entitled "Welcome, London . . .
Students," was issued under the initials of the University
of Chicago Students for a Democratic Society Chapter and was
prepared in response to the possibility of
Robert Johnson visiting the University of Chicago on
January 3, 1967, to participate in the 25th anniversary
celebration of the discovery of controlled atomic energy.
Copy of this leaflet is appended hereto.

The above information was furnished to the following
individuals:

Dr. Nicholas Katzenbach, Assistant United States
Attorney, Chicago, Illinois

b7C [REDACTED], 113th Military Intelligence
Group, Evanston, Illinois

b7C [REDACTED], United States Federal Service,
Chicago, Illinois

b7C [REDACTED], Commanding Officer,
Armed Forces Examining Station, Chicago, Illinois

WELCOME LYNDON

...IF HE DARES

As you have noticed, Lyndon Johnson may pollute the University of Chicago campus on Saturday. For the past several months LBJ has been afraid to face the public, afraid to face our anger at the Government's war in Vietnam and in the streets of America.

THE PEOPLE WERE HEARD: GET OUT OF VIETNAM, NOW
The Government's war in Vietnam hurts most Americans as well as the Vietnamese. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can determine their own future.

THE PEOPLE WERE HEARD: RESIST THE DRAFT
Bring an end to the military draft which forces American youth to fight in this unjust war. We support those who resist the draft in Vietnam, like Muhammed Ali, Gary Rader, Dan Faller and Peter Dinklage.

THE PEOPLE WERE HEARD: STOP UNIVERSITY COMPLICITY WITH THE WAR
Bring an end to 25 years of University complicity with the military. We encourage all students to oppose military recruiting, counter-insurgency research, ROTC, and cold war classroom propaganda.

WE DEMAND THAT THE U. S. Get Out of Vietnam, Now!

Stop the Vietnam Draft.

Stop University Complicity With the War.

Sat. Dec. 2 SPEAK OUT...JOIN US....BE THERE Sat. Dec. 2
1:40. between 56th and 57th on Ellis. Dress straight
if you want to attend LBJ's speech
2 PM: RALLY MEET AT CORNER OF 56TH AND ELLIS,
followed by picket lines and suitable action.
Be dressed for protection from the cold and
from the "heat"

The President may sneak into Chicago earlier in the day.
Keep your eyes and ears open and be prepared to greet him.

Police plots at demonstrations in Los Angeles, Oakland, Brooklyn College, and other places suggest that we should be prepared for aggressive police violence. So: 1) wear a jacket to ward off blows, 2) wear several layers of clothing, 3) wear boots, 4) pants for men and women, 5) no jewelry.

NOTE: Even if Johnson does not come, UCSDS is holding a demonstration at 2 PM Saturday protesting UC's 25 years complicity with the war, in Hiroshima in '45 and in Vietnam in '67.

- 8, 1967

APPENDIX ATHE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it came into being at a founding convention at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an organization of young people on the left and has a current focus on protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for developing a conscientious objector status, surrounding the intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "take the university community out of the hands of the Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a reporter of the United Press International in San Francisco, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." In June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an official statement was removed from the SDS constitution. In the July, 1965, issue of "New Left Notes," an official statement of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are no Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located at Room 201, 1605 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
December 12, 1937

6-11-37

Title ANTI-DRAFT ACTIVITIES
DECEMBER 4 - 8, 1937

Character INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS)
Reference is made to the letterhead memorandum of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated [REDACTED] and captioned as above.

b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

CC T-2 an agency which collects security data in the Chicago area.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 12/12/67

FROM : LEGAT, OTTAWA (100-1500) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

ReBulet, 10/10/67.

1d
3 - Bureau
1 - Chicago
1 - Ottawa
MLI/vma
(4)

EX 109

REC-1

100-439048-2178

14 DEC 15 1967

cc 9323

DEC 20 1967

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 12/5/67

transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: *Wux* LEGAT, PARIS (100-2695) (P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

b1

Gen

Remyairtel to Bureau 10/13/67.

b1
[REDACTED]

Any additional pertinent information received will be furnished.

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., *NY*

RAO (ISD, *DE, SE*)

DATE FORW: *12-15-67 WFO*

HOW FORW: *RB*

BY: *WNP: RAC*

EX-102

- 6 - Bureau (Encs. - 8) **ENCLOSURE**
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - Detroit, Info.)
(1 - New York, Info.)

1 - Paris

JFF:eim

(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

AIRTEL

CLASSIFIED BY *1483 JRM/STJ*
EXEMPT FROM GDS
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

18 DEC 11 1967

DEC 11 02 14 PM '67

Approved: *125*

70 DEC 26 1967

11-8-78 JSP/BTS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12/18/67

4
AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447549)

FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (100-8-2012)

SUBJECT: GREGORY ALAN CALVERT
b1 [REDACTED]

b7C
Rerep of SA [REDACTED] dated 8/9/67 at
Chicago.

b1 [REDACTED] (C)

b1 [REDACTED] (C)

- 6 - Bureau (Encs. - 8)
 (1 - Liaison Section)
 (2 - Chicago, 100-43223, Info.)
2 - Paris
 (1 - PAR 100-2695, STUDENTS FOR A
 DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)

JFF:eim
(8)

100-447549
NOT RECORDED
141 JAN 2 1968

AIRTEL

ENCLOSURE

53 JAN 4 1968

1432-2123-198
CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
EXEMPTED FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE 06 DEC 2003
REASON 2513
para 2, 3

CONFIDENTIAL FBI

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448381)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1447)(P)

SUBJECT: LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION
(LADC)
RACIAL MATTERS
OO:CHICAGO

Re Bureau airtel to Chicago dated 12/12/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are nineteen (19) copies of an LHM captioned as above, suitable for dissemination.

One copy each of the enclosed LHM is being furnished U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, in view of their interest in this matter.

- (11) - Bureau (Enc. 19)(RM)
(1 - 105-104218)(OBED LOPEZ)
(1 - 61-10459)(JOHN ROSSEN)
(1 - 100-428208)(NOEL IGNATIN)
(1 - 97-4196)(FPCC)
(1 - 100-441164)(W.E.B. DuBois Club)
(1 - 100-146964)(PLP)
(1 - 100-439048)(SDS)
(1 - 100-429200)(POC)

22 - Chicago

CLASSIFIED BY 1259
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

11-8-78 33P/BTS
ADD. P/S From 6016 11-25-78 AS

- (1 - [REDACTED])
(1 - 100-37454)(FPCC)
(1 - 100-40865)(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB)
(1 - 100-29093)(PLP)
(1 - 100-40903)(SDS)
(1 - 100-25300)(POC)

LJR:dfr
(33)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-448381-8

CG 157-1447

This LHM is being submitted for information of the Bureau. It contains information relative to certain individuals connected with captioned organization, who have subversive backgrounds. There is no information currently available to show that the Communist Party has specifically instructed its members to infiltrate this organization, or that Communist Party (CP) members have infiltrated this organization in sufficient strength to influence or control it. In view of this, no recommendation is being made at this time to designate this organization as COMINFIL. Chicago will continue to follow activities of this organization closely and will be alert for any information of a subversive nature in addition to the demonstration type activity.

There is no information currently available that OBED LOPEZ, the Chairman and driving force of this organization, is currently affiliated with the CP. Under separate communication, LOPEZ is being recommended for Rabble Rouzer Index.

It is to be noted that both OBED LOPEZ and JOAQUIN HECTOR PODROZA are on the RI-B. NOEL IGNATIN and JOHN ROSSEN are on the SI, with IGNATIN being tabbed DETCOM.

b7D

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

A review of Chicago indices failed to reveal any additional pertinent information re the following:

b7D

[REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

December 15, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 157-1447

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE
ORGANIZATION (LADO)
RACIAL MATTER (ORGANIZATION)

On [REDACTED] CG T- [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised the Chicago office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), that LADO, whose headquarters are located at 1306 North Western Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is a group formed ostensibly to assist Chicago residents of Latin American descent. It was formed during the Puerto Rican disturbances in Chicago, during the summer of 1966, by Obed Lopez with the financial assistance of John Rossen.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] LADO has been active in the past in conducting picket demonstrations concerning voter registrations, welfare practices, and employment. It is considered the most active and militant organization within the Puerto Rican community.

CLASSIFIED BY 1239

EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2

4-228 JSP/BTS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

67D
1482 89m/145
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Date marked C at Bureau

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE,
CHICAGO CHAPTER

A source advised in October, 1960, that the Chicago Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) was formed during the summer of 1960 at Chicago, Illinois, under the direct guidance and leadership of RICHARD CRILFY, a member of the State Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

A second source in August, 1960, furnished a leaflet entitled "What Is Really Happening in Cuba?" distributed by the FPCC in Chicago. The aims and purposes of the FPCC as set forth in this leaflet include the following: "To disseminate the truth, to combat untruth; to publish and distribute factual information which the United States mass media suppresses. In general, to contribute to foundations for peace, friendship, and understanding between ourselves and the Cuban people." The leaflet reflects the FPCC plans to accomplish these aims: "By mailing of information bulletins; organizing public meetings and forums; providing speakers, movies, and slides for meetings of interested organizations, placing ads in newspapers; to visit Cuba and see for themselves what conditions really are."

A third source advised on March 9, 1964, that there has been no activity of the FPCC in Chicago since late November, 1963, and for all intents and purposes the organization is defunct.

The mailing address for the FPCC, Chicago Chapter, is Post Office Box 4474, Chicago 80, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIXFAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening in Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. CHARLES A. SANTOS-BUCH identified himself and ROBERT T. TIER as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and TIER obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 20, 1963, a second source advised that VINCENT "TED" LEE, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that LEE believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. LEE did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX

The November 23, 1963, edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief public relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator DODD was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

The December 27, 1963, edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-CASTRO FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-CASTRO street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-CASTRO American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by CASTRO's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin LEE H. OSWALD.

On February 6, 1964, the previously mentioned second source advised that V. T. LEE had recently remarked that the FPCC was dead and that there were no plans to organize another similar organization.

On April 13, 1964, a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on May 1, 1967, that DCA chartered clubs in the Chicago area are the West Side DCC and the North Side DCC, neither of which currently maintain a headquarters. There is no central headquarters for the DCC and there are no unchartered clubs in this area.

The second source advised that the majority of DCC members are also members of the CP.

During the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM, Also
known as Militant Labor Forum

In May, 1967, a source advised that the Forum is a paper organization set up by the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP), Chicago, Illinois, for Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members and sympathizers. Open meetings held under the auspices of this Forum are geared to the activities that the SWP is pursuing at a particular time, e.g., unemployment, election campaign, Cuba, segregation, etc.

A CBSWP member is in charge of the Forum and schedules meetings under the name of the Forum in order to conceal the SWP sponsorship of same. The meetings of the Forum generally are held at Chicago SWP headquarters although the Forum, in the past, has sponsored other affairs, such as meetings, socials and picnics held at other locations.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST
PARTY (POC), CHICAGO

A source advised on May 1, 1967, that he had learned that on August 16 and 17, 1958, a national conference was held in New York City for the purpose of forming a "Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party." This source also advised that the Chicago POC participated in the national conference of the Marxist-Leninist Caucus of the old Party and at that time the Chicago group became affiliated with the national POC.

This same source further advised that the Chicago POC continues as a branch of the national POC and is entirely subservient to the national POC in that they receive and follow orders from that body and make financial contributions to it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)**

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 142 concerning the POC:

"1. Found to be 'a new Communist splinter group.' The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party 'also known as the POC * * * was formed in August 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who were dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the party and, while within it, had referred to themselves as the Marxist-Leninist Caucus.'

"'The leaders and participants in the Provisional Organizing Committee group had been expelled from the Communist Party on the technical charge of "disruptive, factional, anti-party activities."

"'The POC group is composed largely of extreme left-wing elements from the Communist Party. Throughout the party's history, there have been contending right- and left-wing factions which, in periods of turmoil such as the party has gone through in the recent past, have fought for control. The POC elements lost out in this recent struggle within the U.S. party * * *.'

"'The one fact that is completely clear today is that the POC is made up of hard-core, dedicated, and extremist Communists who, despite their present differences with the Communist Party leadership, are intent upon doing all within their power to speed the achievement of the goals of international communism.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1959, House Report 1251, February 8, 1960, pp. 69 and 70.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: December 12, 1967

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Priority _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439018)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-SDS

Re Chicago airtel dated 12/7/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) and appropriate copies designated to offices listed below, which sets forth information regarding a SDS National Council and Education Conference scheduled to be held in Bloomington, Indiana, beginning 12/27/67.

Chicago continuing to follow this matter closely and will keep the Bureau and all interested offices advised.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 10)(RM)
- 1 - Albany (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Boston (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 2 - Indianapolis (Enc. 2)(RM)
- 1 - Kansas City (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Omaha (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - St. Louis (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Chicago

ELS:meh
(19)

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., *etc.*

RAO (ISD, ~~OSI~~, CD), *State*

DATE FORW: *12-22-67*

C. C. Bishop

HOW FORW: *R/S*

BY: *WHP:R MV*

REC 30

EX 104

12 DEC 21 1967

INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Approved: *meh*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

63 DEC 28 1967



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
December 9, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40903

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

The "New Left Notes," issue of December 11, 1967, Volume 2, Number 44, on page one contained an article captioned "The December National Council and Education Conference, Bloomington, Ind. Beginning Dec. 27." This article read in part as follows:

"SDS is developing within the context of a growing anti-imperialist movement. The beginnings of a new phase in that movement have been shown in Oakland, Washington, Madison, Brooklyn, and campuses throughout the country where Dow, the military, and the CIA are recruiting. The direction of a new program is in the air. But demonstrations of obstruction and/or exposure of political targets require skill in political education and organizational tactics. It requires also a critical understanding of the political direction of a program, and some planning for the next six months. We have tried to plan the NC and the Education Conference around those needs.

"The direction of a new program has been set by the events of the last several months. We have not yet set the political context within which the actions can be viewed and expanded, however. At the Education Conference and NC at least one concrete program for the spring will be presented. There should be in-depth discussion of that, and alternatives should be presented. What has been missing from our undirected action is national and regional coordination, and response and initiative aid from the national organization. That can only be done correctly if a good participation by the membership and strong mandates come out of the NC.

"Because of the urgency pressed upon SDS chapters everywhere to act effectively within the context of the new direction of obstruction and exposure (i.e., 'resistance'), the Education Conference will focus on what we have learned through the fall, in terms of both skills and political directions, and how to use that knowledge for future action.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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ENCLOSURE

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"Of course, papers, workshop suggestions, resolutions, program, etc. are joyously welcomed so that we all may have a clearer conception of what will be most useful to everybody. Such papers, etc. should be in the NO (National Office) by December 20, so that we can plan for their most careful consideration at the Conference and NC."

"SCHEDULE OF THE EDUCATION CONFERENCE AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

"THE EDUCATION CONFERENCE

"The basic structure will be workshops. We are planning to have many resource people who will probably speak at mass sessions. The major thrust of all the workshops planned is how to do effective political education and work around action, although they all should be vital to chapter people in planning and carrying out a wide variety of activities.

Dec. 27th, 8am-10pm: REGISTRATION at Ballantine Hall, first floor, rm. 013. The Indiana University campus at Bloomington, Indiana. (This should be the first place you check in upon arrival--even if you arrive late.)

Dec. 27th, 6pm: MASS SESSION with discussion of perspectives on the educational conference, working papers will be distributed on the different aspects of the student movement and recent activity. We are attempting to get the 'Battle of Algiers' to be shown that night.

"WORKSHOPS

Dec. 28th, 9:30am-10pm:

SELECTING POLITICAL TARGETS: The increasing importance of research and careful analysis of targets, taking into account their impact, educational and political, in on and off campus constituencies. Also, resource people on 'how to....'

RECRUITMENT AND EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY LEADING UP TO ACTION: Two workshops on techniques of political education for action, publicity and propaganda work, the pre-action work with the grassroots.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

DEMONSTRATION TACTICS AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE: Two workshops on the new militancy and its political direction. Lessons from recent situations, resource people from Oakland, New York, etc.--weaknesses and strengths of particular situations.

REPRESSION AND DEFENSE: The growing importance of protection of the movement as we mature and take more effective political action. 'How do we best deal with the bastards' information.

Dec. 29th, 9:30am-7pm: NATIONAL AND REGIONAL COORDINATION: Their increasing importance in light of a possible national program for the spring. What is necessary at the local level, regionally, and nationally for effective communications and coordination; what it means in terms of future action.

SUMMER PROGRAM: Initial thought and planning for a summer program in order to effectively maintain momentum through the summer and into the early fall.

FINAL MASS MEETING OF EDUCATION CONFERENCE: Summary evaluation of the conference.

"THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Dec. 29, 7pm-10pm: PLENARY SESSION: Reports and necessary administrative work.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. Credentials | C. Recognition of new chapters |
| B. Financial Report | D. State of the organization, |
| E. Report on the Education Conference | reports from the 3 secretaries |

Dec. 30th, 9:30am-4pm: RESOLUTIONS WORKSHOPS; Workshops on resolutions and major topic areas relating to programmatic needs of the organization. Obviously, additional ones may be set up and resolutions dealing with totally different topics may be proposed from the floor. We have attempted to confine workshops to major topic areas which are dealing with the program.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| A. Spring Program | C. Repression and Defense |
| B. High Schools | D. Summer Program |

Dec. 30th, 5pm-10pm: PLENARY SESSION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Dec. 31st, 9:30am-10pm: PLENARY SESSION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

A characterization of the SDS is attached.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois

TRUE COPY

November 18, 1967

-To Whom it may concern:

I am writing to the State Department as I do not know the title of the agency which can supply me with the information I request. It is the following:

While studying in Spain I have come upon a student who plans on joining "Students for a Democratic Society" (S. D. S.) when she returns to the United States. I may be wrong, but I believe that S. D. S. has been labeled as subversive. I would appreciate very much if some backround information on S. D. S. could be sent to me as quickly as possible. Also I would like a copy of the list showing subversive organizations if this is possible. And finally I would like to know the implications involving a person who would join such a group, or associate and promulgate their views openly.

I would sincerely appreciate any help you can give me in regards to my questions. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

REC 36 100-439048-218

12 DEC 22 1967

b7C

ITC
12-15-67
ack
12-18-67
HKB/can

Aerío Correo

United States Department
of State
Washington D.C.
United States of America



FORM DS-14
4-1-65

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DATE

12/13/67

INTERDEPARTMENTAL REFERENCE

REFERRED TO
Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation

RE: *101*
10

Attached letter from [REDACTED] re "Students for a
Democratic Society"

WRITER ☐ HAS ☒ HAS NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THIS REFERENCE

COMMENTS:

For reply to writer.

SIGNATURE *Joseph L. Smith*

Joseph L. Smith
Country Officer for Spain

OFFICE OR DIVISION

FUR:SFP
Department of State

November 18 1967

b7c

To Whom it may concern:

I am writing to the State Department as I do not know the title of the agency which can supply me with the information I request. It is the following:

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CORRESPONDENCE

11/18/67 ITC 12-15-67 OEO

Finally I would like to know the
implications involving a person who
would join such a group, or associate
and promulgate their views openly.

I would sincerely appreciate
any help you can give me in regards
to my questions. Thank you for
your consideration

Sincerely,
[REDACTED]

b7c
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

REC 30

December 18, 1967

AIRMAIL

[REDACTED]

b7c

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of November 18th to the Department of State has been referred to this Bureau and was received on December 14th.

In response to your inquiry, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Fort Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962.

This association of young people has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status and denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam. It also seeks to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed on May 14, 1965, by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At its national convention in June, 1965, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. I am enclosing some material concerning this organization for your further information.

(continued over)

- 1 - Paris - Enclosure
 - 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit - Enclosure
- Note and enclosures Page Two.
HHL/cac (5)

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54 DEC 29 1967

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7c

The FBI does not distribute the type of list you are seeking and, as a strictly investigative agency of the Federal Government, does not evaluate what implications may be involved in an association with any group; therefore, I am unable to be of assistance with respect to your inquiries regarding these matters.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)
LEB Introduction 2-67
Turbulence on the Campus

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of Correspondent.

FBI

Date: 1/3/68

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40303)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

ReBuairtel to Albany 12/5/67.

The Bureau, in reairtel 12/5/67, stated that in view of the growing militancy of the SDS and its demonstrated propensity for violence, existing SDS Chapters in the Chicago Division must be identified along with its officers and leading activists. It was further stated that high-level informant coverage must be established and that a detailed survey should be made which would reflect the organizational structure of the SDS together with the identities of officers and functionaries on the local, regional and national levels. With respect to this, the following is submitted:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY ck
DATE 10-11-78

- (3) - Bureau (RM)
39 - Chicago
- 1-100-44710 (UICC SDS)
 - 1-100-44711 (U of C SDS)
 - 1-100-44713 (LFC SDS)
 - 1-100-44714 (LU SDS)
 - 1-100-44715 (NU SDS)
 - 1-100-44717 (RU SDS)
 - 1-100-44716 (NIU SDS)
 - 1-100-43523 (CARL DAVIDSON)
 - 1-100-43573 (ROBERT PARDUS)
 - 1-100-44358 (MIKE SPIEGEL)
 - 1-100-44356 (STEVE HALLIMILL)
 - 1-100- (ROBERT GOTTLIEB)
 - 1-100-39357 (JEFF SEGAL)
 - 1-100-44741 (TIM MC CARTHY)
 - 1-100-44742 (CAROL HARTLEY)
 - 1-65-2054 (JOHN BOSSON)

CLASSIFIED BY 1782
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

REC-71 CLASSIFIED BY 7257
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

18 JAN 6 1968

STG:100
(42)

Approved: 210/ep

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

57 JAN 17 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1-100-44573 (HOWARD STRANGE)
1-100- (HENRY BALSAR)
1-100- (ERNEST DORFIELD)
1-100-42576 (STEVE KINDRED)
1-100-35770 (DANNY FRIEDLANDER)
1-100-37245 (FREDDIE KUSHNER)
1-100-42252 (BERNIE FARBER)
1-105-19456 (IRVING HIMELBLAU)
1-100- (RICHARD BERKOWITZ)
1-100- (RICHARD KALWA)
1-100- (JIM INGRAM)
1-100- (PAUL MC ADAMS)
1-100- (MARK KRAMER)
1-100- (DAVID L. CLARK)
1-100- (STEVEN E. MOORE)
1-100- (STEVE LUBET)
1-100- (SUSITA CLINE)
1-100-42798 (PETER PRAN)
1-100- (IIT SDS)
1-100- (CHRIS HOBSON)
1-100-43951 (INVESTIGATION OF NEW LEFT ORGANIZATIONS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National SDS

The SDS continues to maintain its national offices in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and the building which these offices are located is owned by JOHN ROSSEN, a former CP member, who is presently active in the SDS as a member of the National Administrative Committee (NAC).

The following individuals are National Officers of the SDS:

CARL DAVIDSON - Inter-organizational Secretary
ROBERT PARDUN-Internal Education Secretary
MIKE SPIEGEL-National Secretary
STEVE HALLIWELL-Assistant National Secretary
ROBERT GOTTLIEB-Assistant Inter-organizational Secretary
JEFFREY SEGAL-National Draft Resistance Coordinator

The day-to-day operation of the National SDS is handled and carried out by the NAC which meets approximately once a week in Chicago. The following individuals are currently members of the NAC:

TIM MC CARTHY	EARL SILBAR
JOHN ROSSEN	MIKE SPIEGEL
CARL DAVIDSON	ROBERT PARDUN
CAROL NEWMAN	HENRY BALSAR
HOWARD STRANGE	

In regard to the national officers of the SDS and members of the NAC, the Chicago Office is presently conducting or has conducted security investigations regarding these individuals in order to further identify them and also to ascertain if they meet the criteria for inclusion on the Security Index, Reserve Index-2, or the Rabble Rouser Index. In addition, from time to time, invited guests attend meetings of the NAC, and when this occurs the Chicago Office immediately initiates security investigations regarding these individuals.

b1 [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Local SDS Chapters

To date there are eight SDS Chapters in existence within the Chicago Division. The local SDS Chapters do not maintain any offices in the Chicago area, but their activities are either coordinated out of the private residences of the respective SDS members or through the SDS National Office. The following information is set forth with respect to these individual chapters:

University of Chicago (U of C)

The U of C-SDS Chapter is the largest and most active chapter in the Chicago Division, consisting of approximately 50 members, with the following leaders:

ERNEST DORNFELD

STEVE KINORED-leading activist although no longer registered at the U of C.

DANNY FRIEDLANDER-CP member

CHRIS HOBSON

The U of C-SDS Chapter has sponsored several demonstrations both on and off campus which have ranged in protest of the war in Vietnam to the apartheid government of the Union of South Africa.

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Roosevelt University (RU)

The RU-SDS Chapter is presently quite active on the RU campus and has approximately 40 members, with the following individuals being leaders of this chapter:

FREDDIE KUSHNER
BERNIE FARTER

In recent months, the RU-SDS Chapter has not sponsored any demonstrations outside the RU campus but this chapter is presently quite active on the RU campus, concerning itself with RU administrative policies, and in this connection three SDS members are presently members of the RU Student Senate.

b1 [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

University of Illinois, Circle Campus (UICC)

The UICC-SDS Chapter has approximately 20-25 members with the following students acting as leaders of this chapter:

IRVING HIGELMAN
RICH BERNHARTZ

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The UICC-SDS Chapter during the past several months has sponsored, along with a UICC anti-Vietnam organization, demonstrations protesting the Vietnam war and also the presence of Dow Chemical Company recruiters on the UICC.

b7cD The Chicago Office is able to afford coverage of the UICC-SDS Chapter through [REDACTED]

Loyola University (LU)

The LU-SDS Chapter was organized starting with the 1967 fall term and to date this chapter has not sponsored any demonstrations. However, of recent date, the LU-SDS Chapter did announce that it would "wash" the U.S. flag in protest against U.S. foreign policies but this announced "flag washing" did not take place.

The following individuals are leaders in the LU-SDS Chapter:

RICHARD KALWA
JIM INGRAM
PAUL MC ADDAMS

b7cD The Chicago Office at the present time has no live informant coverage of this chapter but is able to follow its activities through [REDACTED]

Lake Forest College (LFC)

The LFC-SDS Chapter, although a recognized college organization and considered to be a functioning campus organization, has not held any meetings for the past several months. This chapter has a membership of approximately 25-30 members and is under the leadership of MARK KHANER, who is its acting chairman.

The LFC-SDS Chapter to date has not sponsored any demonstrations, but recently several of its members did participate in an anti-war demonstration held in Lake Forest, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

b7c, D The Chicago Office has no live informant coverage of the LFC-SDS Chapter but coverage of this chapter is obtained through [REDACTED]

Northern Illinois University (NIU)

The NIU-SDS Chapter is a campus approved organization with a membership of approximately 14 individuals. DAVID L. CLARK is chairman of this chapter, and STEVEN E. MOORE acts as the SDS Chapter Coordinator.

The NIU-SDS Chapter during February, 1967, was the sponsoring chapter of a SDS Regional Conference and also during February, 1967, was the sponsoring organization in a picket demonstration held here protesting the presence of Dow Chemical Company recruiters on the NIU campus. Subsequent to this time, this chapter has not sponsored any other demonstration.

b7c, D The Chicago Office does not have live informant coverage of the NIU-SDS Chapter but is able to follow its activities through [REDACTED]

Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT)

The IIT-SDS Chapter has approximately five members and its present leader is PETER PRAN. The IIT-SDS Chapter, mainly through the efforts of PRAN, has sponsored several anti-war and draft demonstrations in Chicago and recently sponsored a demonstration protesting the presence of Dow Chemical Company recruiters on the IIT campus.

b1 [REDACTED] (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Northwestern University (NU)

The NU-SDS Chapter consists of approximately 13 members with the following individuals acting in a leadership capacity:

SUSITA CLINE-Acting President
STEVE LUBET-former president who is still active in this chapter although he has recently dropped out of school

At the present time, the NU-SDS Chapter is in a reorganizational stage and does not hold regular meetings. In recent months this chapter has not sponsored any demonstrations, but STEVE LUBET, who is quite active in the Chicago Student Mobilization Committee, has participated in several anti-war and draft demonstrations.

b1 [REDACTED] c)

The Chicago Office recognizes the need of closely following the activities of SDS as well as other "New Left" organizations and has in the past and will in the future make every effort to insure that the Bureau's vital interests in this area are fully carried out. In order to insure this aspect, the Chicago Office has initiated the following programs:

1. Reviewing office files on individuals who are presently active in SDS and other "New Left" organizations as well as files of individuals who have ceased to be active in these organizations with the goal of determining if they present any potential for PSI development.

2. Review publications and other documents circulated in the Chicago area by SDS and other "New Left" organizations to identify individuals active on the fringe areas of these organizations in an effort to determine if they have PSI potential to penetrate organizations of this type.

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CONFIDENTIAL

3. The Chicago Office is presently re-evaluating its present informants and sources to determine the possibility of directing additional informants and sources towards SDS and other "New Left" organizations.

The Chicago Office will continue to follow the activities of the SDS, as well as other "New Left" organizations on a close basis and will keep the Bureau advised of all developments.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

copy

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 1/9/68

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - [REDACTED] b7c

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

PURPOSE:

b1 [REDACTED] (C)

BACKGROUND:

b1 [REDACTED] C

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-25

It is recommended that attached memorandum be approved and sent to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Attorney General.

Enclosure 2 1-10-68
100-439048

WNP:jav
(6)

CLASSIFIED BY 1482 S89/m/AB
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Data 1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

January 10, 1968

REC-25

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-439048

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

WNP:jav
(12)

PLEASE NOTE PAGE TWO

55 JAN 22 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

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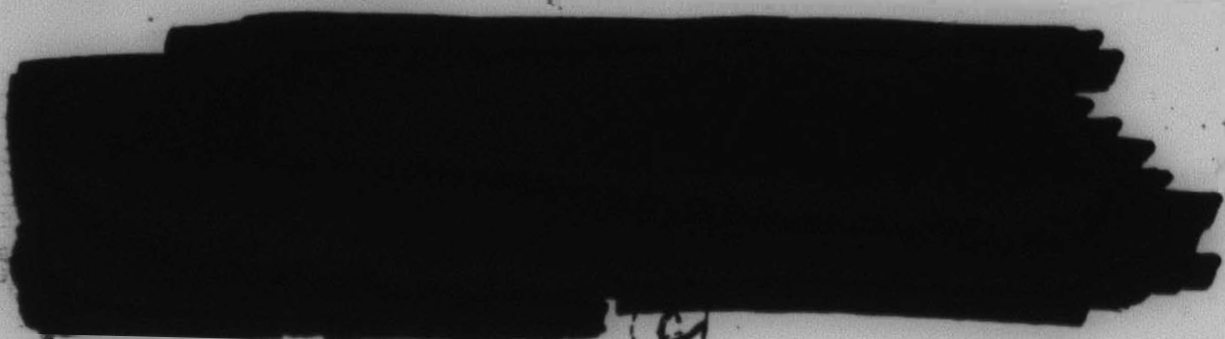
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CLASSIFIED

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Area marked Confidential

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

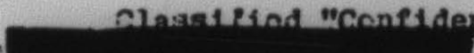
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

61. 
The Students for a Democratic Society is an organization which Gue Hall has described as part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us."

NOTE:

Xerox copies being furnished to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House; Secretary of State; Secretary of Defense; Director, Central Intelligence Agency; Attorney General; and the Deputy Attorney General.

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan dated 1/9/68 captioned as above as prepared by WNP:jav.

b7D Classified "Confidential" since it contains data from  whose identity, if disclosed, could possibly compromise its future effectiveness which would result in damage to the national defense interests of this country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum • POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

SUBJECT: Subversive Activities.

DATE: December 19, 1967

FROM: Postal Inspector in Charge
Denver, Colorado 80201

IN REPLY
REFER TO:

YOUR REFERENCE

TO: Chief Inspector

Student for Democratic Society - 8

Herewith is an article found loose in the mails at the Colorado Springs, Colorado Post Office and submitted to this office as information by the postmaster on December 15, 1967.

In view of the nature of the text, it is being forwarded to your office in accordance with the provisions of 156.10, CIPI.

E. S. Windbigler
E. S. Windbigler

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE



57
57 JAN 13 1968

SDS AND OBSTRUCTION OF THE CIA

WEDNESDAY NIGHT SDS passed a resolution urging all groups which plan action against the CIA to obstruct the interviews or, if faced with a display of overwhelming force, to take other disruptive actions. It is important to understand that SDS is not a monolithic group and all those attending meetings can make resolutions and vote; and that no SDS decision is considered binding on individuals.

WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING, a majority of the meeting concluded that some form of obstruction is necessary, if at all possible. We have exhausted all means of obedient protest. Government policy abroad has become so repressive, brutal and dangerous that we must simply do what we can to stop it directly. To return to a "protest" picket would be to concede to the university and the police the right to destroy meaningful student action by threats of violence. To leave the issue of CIA recruiting on the negotiating table (even if the administration were willing to negotiate!) would be to give up the only real power the students have, their power to move into Mass Action. To back down at this point would only serve to encourage those forces in the administration, the faculty and the legislature who want to eliminate the dissident forces and intensify the commitment of the university to the national war machine under the guise of a return to "normal."

SDS MEMBERS understand that militant action may lead to the expulsion of SDS "leaders" from school, the end of a hope to finish undergraduate or graduate school and move easily toward a career. But we believe that serious political issues are not resolved by protecting our own academic futures and hoping that at some future date things might get better.

CLEARLY, a cordon of armed police and National Guardsmen may make it impossible to enter the building arranged for interviews and even, perhaps, make it impossible to obstruct from the outside. But we hold that students must mass for that objective around the building and move into other disruptions and diversionary tactics only when conditions force us to do so. We must have all the opponents of the CIA together for whatever activities, planned or spontaneous, we hope to carry out.

100-439048 2184

HOWEVER, SDS does not give itself the right to dictate tactics to the rest of the student movement. We therefore can only URGE and RECOMMEND that obstruction be agreed upon by a larger body of all CIA protestors soon to be formed.

THE FINAL DECISION IS UP TO YOU. YOU MUST DISCUSS WHY THE CIA MUST BE STOPPED AND HOW TO STOP IT. WHATEVER YOUR FINAL TACTICAL DECISION, YOU HAVE OUR SUPPORT.

The CIA is an agency of oppression across the world. It is protected and aided in its murderous work by the administration of our university. The cold-warrior alliance of profiteers, militarists, red-baiting politicians and university autocrats grows tighter year by year. It has become a noose around our necks. The hopes we once had for our student life, for our careers, for our families grow dim. Vietnams all over the world stare us in the face. If we cannot say "NO! I WILL STOP THE MACHINE!" we will become its next generation of agents and instruments.

IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WAR by Michael Josefowicz

We want to build a movement developing from the issue of the war to a multi-issue program. This entails some of the following kinds of notions:

- 1.-Increasing the number of people to whom we will be able to speak and who, when they leave the University, will be able to raise radical questions about the structure in which they find themselves.
- 2.-Increasing the number of individuals who can effectively be full-time radicals both inside and outside the university. This implies, of course, that we develop a special radical critique which can be used as a framework of analysis and action. I would like to argue that the Dow demonstration and the principles implicit in it lead to a program which would begin to satisfy these aims. The principle for which we sat-in was in part an end to University complicity with the war machine. Let us analyze this principle in terms of building a movement.

It is closely connected with the Vietnam War. As Kolko argues in last week's Nation, if the universities ceased to do government research, the ability to wage war like that in Vietnam would be, at least to some degree, impaired. (The CBW research discontinued at Penn has yet to be continued). The goddamned "cost-quotient" would be raised for the Pentagon. If the spontaneous national movement against Dow and CI recruiting which we sparked on the 18th could be co-ordinated, we could have some effect on these firms. If we could build a national movement against other military related uses of the University, we could have an effect.

In this specific kind of fight, we have certain things going for us. For all those individuals who say they are against the war but don't know what to do about this is a possible attractive form of action. It compels these people to examine seriously their commitment to ending the war. When the war is put into the context of institutional ties and thus institutional structure, people are forced to consider a radical analysis.

An overall program to end University complicity makes a victory on the specific issue of recruiting meaningful. If the University decides to eliminate the activity of certain agencies in recruiting, it will become open to other questions of University complicity. If the faculty decides that certain kinds of recruiting are not proper functions of the University, we will be in a much stronger position to argue that military activities are not part of the proper functioning of the University, and, further, that the kind of education we are getting is not the proper function of the University.

The issue of recruiting has certain advantages. As we can see from the result of the Dow demonstration, the University is in a somewhat precarious position regarding recruiting. It is very hard to defend in terms of the traditional line about academic freedom. The notion of acting as a service station for the military and for war-related corporations is basically antagonistic to the humanistic ideals of a University. Of course, it is a real question as to the extent that these ideals exist even in a latent way among the faculty as a body, if not as individuals. However, I believe that enough of this sentiment exists among the L & S faculty to make them at least open to this kind of issue. Professor Beck's committee is supposed to examine just these questions. More important, I believe that a good deal of this kind of sentiment exists in important segments of the student body. Further, the implications of the University as an advanced vocational school can be shown to students in terms of the life for which it prepares them. We can effectively argue that middle-class life in contemporary America stinks.

We must also take account of our power to put the University in conflict with the State. This is a potentially great power, and we must consider it carefully. One line of argument on this question might be that if the legislature were to seriously threaten the University, parts of the faculty would be forced to mount an ideological

defense, that is argue publicly for the liberal conception of the University. Since they have a potential position of power in controlling the prestige of the University, and since they are most sensitive to the liberal argument, the L & S faculty might present this case. In this kind of argument, I believe that issues would be clear, depending on how the Left handles itself.

Very briefly let us examine the Dow demonstration as part of a program against University complicity. The repression by the police succeeded in making at least the people who sat-in potentially full-time radicals. Seeing billy-clubs used on friends and feeling them yourself makes one realize that the enemy is serious. And that the resources of his command are great. We became convinced that those in positions of authority (even good people who are against the war) will use every resource to preserve the status quo. This led many to see that we are in a long-range struggle, that we must devote our lives to changing "the system".

The two or three thousand people who were gassed at least had their liberal conception of the University threatened. Although they did not clearly accept the issue of the Dow sit-in at least they were opened up to this issue. And the claim of thousands of students who were completely alienated from the demonstrators simply does not jibe with experience we have been having in the dormitories. This is not to say that even a large minority will agree with us now, but it is true that people want to talk. And what we find ourselves talking about is the role of the University in contemporary American society, students' life within the University, and what students will be doing once they get out of that University - in addition, of course, to American Foreign Policy.

This process of talking in a systematic way to our fellow students seems to me a perfect opportunity to develop and sophisticate our basic insights. To be able to convince students, we must present an analysis which is close to them. We are forced to develop a conception of how the needs of the "military-industrial complex" screws and will continue to screw their lives. This is the kind of argument which we will have to develop for many sectors of the population if we are serious about building a movement. The systematic talking to students forces us to increase our efforts at internal education, if only because we need to get information to win arguments.

Unfortunately, the structure of the University does not foster a constant critical examination of ideas. Students become deadened by course work. For at least this reason, we must have a fairly continuous action program to stimulate discussion. Further, if we believe in the importance of moving to change this society, not merely empty talk, an intelligent action program is indispensable.

An obstructive sit-in against the CIA would continue the process that was started by the Dow sit-in. It would raise issues. In addition to raising the pressure on the faculty and administration to ending certain kinds of recruiting, it would raise in more subtle ways, questions of the role of the University, and the nature of its relations with the military-industrial complex. It is said CIA recruiters are on the faculty. The entire NSA-CIA affair is an important way to increase the understanding of how the liberal government works. The question of the way the CIA operates, in terms of its effect on underdeveloped nations is much more subtle than that of Dow. If these issues are made clear to students, there is a real increase in understanding.

We have learned that a correctly handled sit-in is the best way to create the kind of atmosphere in which these positions can be made clear. At least this is the experience in the dormitories. With the CIA, we have an opportunity which we did not have before now. That is, before the action, we can prepare students. What we can aim for is two-fold: First, a small but perhaps significant amount of people who may be willing to obstruct; second, a much greater number of people who would support us with some kind of action, not directly illegal.

This points to a crucial variable in this kind of program. And that is a constant process of organizing on the campus, in the dorms. We all accept that if we are serious about "raising consciousness --our own and that of the student body,--we must speak to students. We must consider the best places and ways of speaking to them. Perhaps it would be useful to speak to people not only where they are now, but where they will be in fifteen years. This means mapping out the structure of occupations. What are the influences on them, the pressures, the contradictions? SDS is finally beginning a systematic program to speak to the people in the dormitories. Tables have been set up in the Commons for the past two weeks. So far, there is a total of seven tables up regularly. As of last Thursday morning, there were some thirty discussions set up in the dorms around Carson Gully and Elm Drive alone. The only limit to how many people we can reach is how many people are willing to work. The only limit to how many people we can reach is the effectiveness of co-ordination which just means getting people to the right place at the right time. We should all be willing to work. There are at least two specific things to do--man tables and speak at dorm discussions.

You'll find that some problems become clearer after working in the dorms--some of the serious considerations of the obstruction tactic. Some of the things which bother students. Do we or do we not want to destroy the University as we know it now? What are specifically some of the possibilities of that happening? In which direction will the change go? What are the influences on the State legislature? Given the increasing repressive reactions to war protests and the fact that a nation-wide Red Scare seems to be on the agenda, what should be our attitude toward the University? The Call could be one place where the product of individual thoughts and small-group discussions can be made public.

ELEPHANTS IN THE IVORY TOWER: THE TUSK THAT LIES BEFORE US by Rob McBride

The significance of the events since October 18 is that they have brought to the surface a deep political conflict between the administration and a growing number of students. This conflict is rooted in clashing views of the "good" society, but the immediate conflict is over what the university should be. This conflict must be understood before particular questions, such as amnesty, can be approached. Appeals for a return to the "sanity" of the situation before the 18th and attempts to "restore" the "unsullied reputation" of the university are meaningless. The "sanity" of last year produced university code 11.07 and the "unsullied" university was contributing to the war in Vietnam then as now. What has marred the surface tranquility of UW is that people are finally taking sides on these questions in a serious way. This broadly political context of the confrontation makes it risky to treat aspects of it in isolation. The tactic of obstruction cannot be separated from the war in Vietnam. If one believes that war to be totally unjustified and genocidal, then outright resistance called for.

Why a University?

Before discussing the particular issue of Dow on campus, it is necessary to outline the opposing views of the nature of the university and its role in society. The administration views the university as "serving" the larger society in two ways. It performs, under contract, much of the research needed by business and government, and it prepares students to enter the institutions of the "real world" with as little friction as possible. The meaning of the "service function" of the university is that the needs of present power are the first criterion for university undertakings. Clark Kerr, "liberal" ex-President of the University of California summed up this

view in his observation that "the university has become a prime instrument of national purpose". In this view, the education of undergraduates becomes an important "... part of the process of freezing the occupational pyramid and assuring that the well-behaved do advance even if the geniuses do not". (The Uses of the University).

The opposing view would have the university a place for educating, for developing a critical understanding of the society and for developing whole people be defending humane values. Holders of this dissenting view would have the analysis of current problems in our society as important a part of the curriculum as technique. This analysis would derive from the university's traditional (but long-neglected) concern for humane values, not from a desire to manage things more smoothly.

These concerned students would have the university defend a system of values in which freedom from want is more important than individual accumulation of property, in which freedom not to die and not to kill is more important than majority rule and in which justice, even if it cannot be quantified, is more important than order. The university should defend these values by explicitly incorporating them in teaching and analysis and be devoting its research and expository resources to further these values where they are challenged. The university cannot claim neutrality. These values are constantly in conflict with privileged interests and the resources of the university must go to one side or the other, especially in a technological society where knowledge is power. This is so even if by default because "the advancement of knowledge" does not take place in a vacuum. Different groups have different access to knowledge depending on how the researcher disseminates his findings.

Those students who have come to the university with the above outlook regard the present institution as deeply complicitous in the systematic repression of Vietnamese, black people and others. To them, the idea of the university as a prime instrument in the service of national power is the worst perversion of the university's ideals. They wish to combat the systematic American repression of poorer people by breaking university complicity in it.

Breaking the Chain

The Dow obstruction was an integral part of this program. Its purposes were 1) to point out the contradiction between the university's professed humanitarian values and its contribution to the Vietnam war and 2) to begin actually to deny Dow the use of university resources. Dow is critically dependent on the university for its major input - "human capital". The twin attributes of the "human capital" needed for the kinds of things Dow does are technical training and docility. The university is necessary both to train people and to teach them "value-free" thinking. Not only is external recompense (grades) made the purpose of studying (going to class), but politics is replaced by the export-run systems of political science and economic analysis tells the student that welfare is undefinable. The university teaches how to perform expertly and suppresses suggestions that what is done is important.

To help the university in its performance of this service to society, Dow and other big corporations contribute heavily to it. This direct influence, plus the indirect influence exerted by corporate domination of party politics plus the commitment of most "educators" to the managerial ideology assures Dow of appropriate service from the university. On-campus job recruitment is an important part of this service in two ways. It assures Dow of direct access to the largest pool of people-burning talent and it gives staid support to the predominance of corporate values over humane values at the university. The marvelous equation of the "right" of munition-makers to transact business at the university with the right to openly defend ideas is strong reinforcement to the process of divorcing value from action in the minds of students.

The above analysis suggests the major reasons Dow was obstructed. Dow's depend-

ence on the university for trained minds and the vestiges of liberal rhetoric left campus make recruitment one of the few areas where Dow can be attacked directly. To direct resistance plus the need to protest the subversion of university's ideals are the main rationale for the obstruction. Obstruction instead of another mere protest was needed for two reasons. Most immediately, the murder of Vietnamese and the brutalization of Americans has reached such a point that no "respect" for parliamentary procedure can outweigh the need to resist the war. A subsidiary reason is that students have no representation in deciding what goes on at the university. Obdurate protest by the disenfranchised has never brought redress. Students who come to participate in the university can do so only by operating outside the administration's rules. The decision to obstruct was serious and deliberate. It is clear that this is the case by the mere fact that the choice was made only recently, after years of protest. This step was taken only in face of the massive unresponsiveness of the centers of power toward the protracted crisis.

This analysis of the administration-student conflict has been strongly borne out by the events following the obstruction. The use of violence to disperse it, the suspension of students, the administration's lies about the events, its callous manipulation of the faculty, its avoidance of substantive issues and its contempt for student grievances confirm the anti-democratic nature of the university and the administration's commitment to service to power at any cost. The quick resort to violence in this incident, which entailed much less disruption than party-raids and no damage to life or property, is an indication of how deeply the "liberal" managers of power in the U.S. are scared of principled confrontation.

This then is the context of the particular questions now facing this campus: amnesty, police violence, the placement service. Of these, amnesty is of particular pressing importance. The basic choice facing the administration is whether to recognize the serious and widespread discontent with the present functioning of the university or to ignore this disaffection and try to intimidate the disaffected. Amnesty must be granted if the conflict is regarded as a real one requiring the participation of those involved for its resolution. The alternative course of intimidating dissent and obscuring the issues is a dangerous one, for it will be a long time indeed before democracy can be achieved in this country if the guardians of it higher education resort to force and manipulation to repress so basic a conflict.

AN ALTERNATIVE PERCEPTION by Ann Gordon

In a whorehouse, the 'normal functions' of the institution require an openness to all who pay. Business is best when it is run on an objective and uncritical level. While individual prostitutes may have dallied, in their youth, with prejudices and value judgments about what kind of men they would prefer to meet in the marketplace of bodies, they soon learn not to let subjective notions interfere with business as usual. For those who are slow to learn, the policy was once defined, by a meeting panicked pimps, in chapter 11.02, which ruled emotions, preferences, and other reactionary forces out of order. Couple with him who'll pay was the order of the day.

Now, if you were a visionary trapped in the system who had an analysis of the proper relationship between a woman's body and her will, with some outmoded idea that human beings should have sexual intercourse for other than economic reasons; and while that analysis you sat in the doorway of a fellow prostitute's room and disrupted the normal functioning of her life, you would expect to be hit over the head with her high-heeled shoe, questioned, and probably beaten by the matron and whipped by the grand council of pimps.

Meanwhile the customer would no doubt have skinned town and denied any responsibility.

THE KEY: STUDENT SPONTANEITY by Paul Buhle

Thousands of students now understand as well as radicals the immediate meaning of police brutality and the full subservience of the administration to the interests of private corporations and the state legislature. Most of the 5000 who gathered Wednesday night on the library mall still do not perceive the inner meaning of the brutality and the subservience, and the role students must play in restructuring the situation. But the road to that perception is one that radicals themselves, however theoretically competent, do not generally understand; it is the meaning of student spontaneity, the students' consciousness of themselves in taking an action to change their lives.

The struggle from Wednesday afternoon, after the clubbing began, to Saturday morning at the demonstration depended almost entirely upon the students' socially instinctive will to act in defiance of the administration. The fact that student consciousness reached its height on Thursday and declined by Friday morning is symbolic of more than the passage of time. The contours of struggle indicate that the students were strongest when they relied upon their own forces and they were doomed to destruction when they look to allies like the faculty for "negotiations" of their role.* This means that students gained strength when they (rightly) saw themselves to be the only progressive force in the university. When they begin next to see the university as a microcosm of American society, they shall hopefully look at themselves (rather than their Congressional "representatives") again as agents of change.

The eclipse of the student mass movement was not, I think, due to any reassessment of the administration's or the police's kindness. Rather, it stemmed from a common realization that the movement, as constituted, had failed. The method and meaning of the students' action was protest: attempts to strike back at police; attempts to shame the faculty; attempts to frighten the administration; and attempts to demonstrate in front of the state legislature and the Madison populace. None of these defensive actions succeeded because our enemies were not outraged, or shamed, or scared enough to change. By Friday most students understood this and returned to their classes; by Monday, nearly all had given up on the immediate struggle entirely.

Clearly, the direction of the movement must change if students are to take it seriously. The radicals moved from protest to resistance and suffered a defeat so creative, so instructive in its essence as to nullify the fear-potential of the clubs and gas, threats and expulsions. The student movement as a whole must move from protest to a struggle over control of the university.

The spontaneity of the students remains their only real power. Thus the struggle for control cannot be waged primarily by the parliamentarians of WSA through the channels carefully established by the administration. Rather, it must take its form in symbolic acts that say: "This is our university to be used by us, not by the corporations and the legislature". And the students who burst forward to a new position of strength must include, next time, more who understand and can explain the real power behind the legislature and the police and how to fight it.

In the necessity for understanding lies the real role of radicals. The radicals are not prophets: they have as much, perhaps more to learn from the "straight" students as they have to teach them. But the radicals do have a storehouse of knowledge which, in literature and conversations, can be used by the students to see better who they are, where they are going, what tasks they must perform to get there. Neither by greater knowledge nor by manifestations of spontaneity alone shall we be free. Rather, in the conscious struggle to link knowledge and spontaneity together will we find ourselves and the role we must play in rebuilding the university and the society.

* See my analysis of the events in Madison in the National Guardian, Nov. 4, 1967.

PANEL ON STRATEGY: SDS NATIONAL COUNCIL, SAT., OCT. 7, 1967 by Henry Wm. Haslach, J

The following is an attempt to summarize the talks of those who took part in a panel discussion on possible strategies for SDS. The first speaker was Greg Calvert former National Secretary of SDS ('66-'67). Calvert began by discussing the previous model for SDS community organizing, the ERAP. The organizer was to wait for people to develop their own issues rather than imposing issues upon them; he was to let participatory democracy work. But, Calvert said, the model did not relate local issues to American imperialism nor did it build a community to protect its organizers. Calvert argued that an organizer must have a political program; he must draw connections to create radical and not reformist constituencies.

He went on to say that since the movement has no base on which to take power, the strategy which SDS must develop is a middle range strategy for the next five or ten years, which will build that radical base and, at the same time, provide defense for the organizers. This is resistance as a political strategy. As the U.S. economy is hurt by the resistance in the third world to American imperialism, the government at home will have to make repressive demands on the society. Young men will be forced to fight for imperialism (as in Vietnam); anti-riot legislation will be passed to deal with domestic resistance; anti-strike legislation will be used to halt the efforts of the working class. Resistance implies that each time repressive demands are made, we must present political programs around resistance such as anti-draft programs.

These are our openings to organize as radicals. Resistance is defensive but also gives our positive alternatives, e.g., community based draft resistance and other actions which organize communities on topics which touch the lives of those living there. As repression gets worse, this program will create allies which will help us to survive in an open, fascist society. From here, we will make the transition to a positive program. This strategy has the weakness that it is not a program to seize power in the near future, but it requires more from us than simply wishing that participatory democracy become real.

Eric Mann of NCUP

Eric Mann, an organizer with the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), answered that the conflict is not, as Calvert suggested, participatory democracy vs. program. He felt that there were plenty of situations in which an organizer could relate local issues to national issues. When speaking before the school board on dismissal from teaching job, he was able to relate the tyranny kids faced in school to the fate of those who left school, went to Vietnam and were killed. Rather than a program, the two most important needs are for organizers to make pro-political decisions and for SDS to provide institutions which would give radicals an alternative in their choice of roles.

The psychological problems and situation of an organizer, Mann said, affect his ideological statements and influence political debate, but our concept of radical prohibits attention to personal problems. We must ask questions about the style of life of the organizer. We have said if one does not live on a subsistence level, or is not a radical, but many try to become poorer than those they are trying to organize. Perhaps it would be good for some of us to make \$8000 a year. Then we would have to make priorities on how to spend the money. We have not solved the problem of movement marriages, most of which fail. We must have radical marriages in which the man sees the woman as a human being. We have not dealt with the question of childcare in a radical marriage. The failures of NCUP, Mann said, have nothing to do with political theory but are a result of having organizers who are not personally prepared.

SDS has also failed to deal with the problem of roles. Right now, people make their decision about going into the city to organize on a personal basis: school or

job locations. A program rather than in having it to trust and so do not talk the outside are. We must do This will require that the community be dropped. For example, teachers could join the teachers' organizations. Forty radical teachers could join the teachers' organizations in their organizations.

Here the radicals must ask what we are going to do beyond disruption of the university. What are we going to do if we win power. It is easy to expose the university, but after that what? What would we do with the teachers' union? What would we do with the immediate reforms, such as rat control and still keep the larger program?

Mann suggested the following program:

- 1) SDS should broaden to include radicals not already in SDS and to include those already working in all organizations.
- 2) SDS needs campus travelers to deal with the problems of being radicals in the outside world, not just political but the personal problems.
- 3) SDS needs a city organization to get local organizers coming to the city for the first time.
- 4) SDS needs to begin now the discussion of political programs so that progress will have been made by the time the pre-political decisions are made.

Sue Suthelm: NY Regional Office

The final speaker was Sue Suthelm of the New York regional office, who stressed the possibilities of using the various institutions of the society for radical organizing. She suggested that the guerilla strategy be reconsidered if we do not want to form an elite manipulating the masses. The proposed national student strike was her model for institutional action as a form of organizing.

First, we must define our issues, constituency, and the terms and time of the struggle for ourselves; we must not let others define it for us. We could define the issue of the students' strike to be the political nature of the university. What does winning the strike mean in this situation? It is not destroying the university. It is not driving the military off campus; that would merely change the location of their recruiting efforts. Winning is 1) making it clear that the university is a political institution; 2) learning how to politicize our student constituency, i.e. learn mass organizing; 3) reveal the connections of the university to other repressive institutions and thus ensure that the movements will not reach a dead end but will continue to deal with the other institutions.

How do we do mass organizing? We choose the tactics which our constituency is prepared to do and those which will prove our point. We should demand that the university do things which we know it cannot do because it will then become clear that these are necessary for the present functioning of the university. We must raise the question of how we live now and how it is right to live. We must show that professionalism is a political concept because it says that research itself is important, not the use to which research is put. Academic freedom is political because it says that every idea has the right to be heard at the university and that one can throw out the "bad guys". It says let the strongest idea prevail and prohibits making moral and value decisions.

Institutional action in an urban setting is important because that is where those who want to organize already are; we do not have to send them there. There we have to ask what is New York City; what are the connections between repressive institutions; and how to attack them. We have to find the connections between those outside the people's concerns and ours. We must choose our issues on the basis of our

own priorities and also anticipate issues. We need a context to put these issues into; we need common links between the various movement projects. The project work must be directed to politicizing as well as attaining specific goals.

We must develop a mass movement. SDS will create organizers and the SDS experience will be reflected in their urban work. Who are we to organize? Most SDS'ers return to the middle class they came from. They should organize where they are not letting ghetto organizing be the exclusive effort. To attack the system we have to attack middle class values.

The different views represented here are also present within the Madison chapter. Subsequent issues will continue the debate with relation to this campus. Editors.

Literature available from Madison SDS

STUDENT HANDBOOK	10¢
PORT HURON STATEMENT.....	50¢
THE CIA AT COLLEGE: INTO TWILIGHT AND BACK by Todd Gitlin and Bob Ross.....	10¢
NOTES ON THE WELFARE STATE by Bob Ross.....	10¢
RADICAL AMERICA (magazine of radical history).....	50¢
THE MULTIVERSITY: CRUCIBLE OF THE NEW WORKING CLASS by Carl Davidson.....	25¢
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY: A READING LIST FOR RADICALS (new edition).	

Also available are four of a projected series of critiques on books commonly used in courses. Each critique costs 10¢.

Historians and the New Deal by Brad Wiley

S.M. Lipset: Social Scientist of the Smooth Society by James Jacobs

Would You Believe...? An Introductory Critique of the True Believer and Cold War Ideology by Paul Braines and Peter Wiley

America the Beautiful: An Essay on Daniel Boorstin and Louis Hartz by James O'Brien

HELP!

SDS needs people who will:

TYPE

COLLATE

STAPLE

SIT AT LITERATURE TABLES

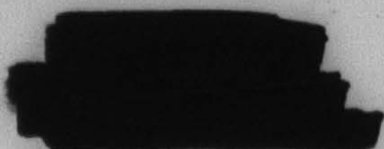
TELEPHONE

SPEAK IN DORMS

ADDRESS THE CALL

WRITE ARTICLES FOR THE CALL

b7c



Louisville, Ky. 402

January 2, 1968

FBI Office
Agent(s) Covering SDS Conference in Bloomington, Ind.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir(s):

I was an observer at the national SDS Conference at Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana. During the time I was there, I volunteered my services to type the stenoids for a resolution presented to the conference by the Southern Caucus Against Yankee Imperialism (which you undoubtedly know nothing about). While my presence was in the mimeo room at the IU Commons, I put down many of the leaflets and much of the propaganda I had picked up, on a desk, upon which was resting an electric typewriter. Among the materials I laid to rest there, I had a small blue notebook, about four inches by six inches, a spiral flip-over type, which contained, among other things, some personal notes and comments I had written over the past few years, including a memo to my doctor.

R

The point, to which I am fast approaching, is that I have every reason for the world to believe that your office is responsible for the disappearance of that notebook, which doesn't upset me, really, but its disappearance does disturb my inner tranquility, and, unless you care to feel the responsibility of agitating my ulcer to a dangerous level, I think you should seriously consider returning the notebook to its real owner, (stealing is a criminal offense, may I remind you). My suggestion is that you duplicate everything, and anything, that you may feel of some questionable use to your worthwhile and patriotic endeavors, and then mail my notes back to me. If you do not wish to acknowledge that you had anything to do with its disappearance, mail it from Kalanchoe or Timbuktoo, or wherever

W.C. Sullivan (Enc)
1/10/68
C.B. Brown
1/10/68

H:

4 JAN 5 1968

b7c

Yours affectionately



Airtel

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, Indianapolis (100-14603) (Enclosure)
Louisville (100-4714) (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI (100-439048) - 2185

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Enclosed for each office is a copy of a letter to the Bureau dated 1/2/68 from one Kathleen Ogden, Louisville, Kentucky, which is self-explanatory.

Bureau files contain no identifiable data concerning Ogden or any information regarding her accusation. She is undoubtedly referring to the National Council meeting of the SDS which was held at Indiana University from 12/27-29/67.

Indianapolis immediately advise the Bureau and Louisville if there is any credence to Ogden's accusation and, if so, furnish full details. If this accusation is without foundation, Louisville is instructed to contact Ogden and make it clear to her that the FBI did not have anything to do with the disappearance of her notebook and such inference is unjustified and uncalled for. If Louisville has any additional information in its possession which would make this interview inadvisable, the Bureau should be notified. Furthermore, if Ogden is a student, contact with her must not be made on the campus.

Louisville should handle interview immediately upon receipt of Indianapolis answer.

WNP:jav (11)

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated 1/10/68 captioned as above as prepared by WNP:jav.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 12
JAN 11 1968

RECEIVED

JAN 22 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 15 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

629PM DEFERRED 1/15/68 WGM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439049)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) (100-44710) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS.

RELIABLE SOURCE CHICAGO PD ADVISED TODAY SDS AND YOUNG
SOCIALIST DISCUSSION CLUB WILL CONDUCT SIT-IN AND M.I.-IN
DEMONSTRATION SECOND FLOOR, UNION CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO, NINE TO TWELVE AM, JAN. SIXTEEN NEXT
PROTESTING MARINE RECRUITMENT BOOTH ON CAMPUS.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY ADVISED. PD AWARE. CHICAGO
FOLLOWING THROUGH ESTABLISHED SOURCE. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

FBI WASH DC

REC-34

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

XEROX

JAN 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JAN 16 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

436PM DEFERRED 1/16/68 JLS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). IS - SDS.

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE JANUARY ONE FIVE LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY APPROXIMATELY THIRTY PERSONS INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF SDS, SOCIALIST DISCUSSION CLUB, CIRCLE CAMPUS COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM APPEARED MARINE RECRUITING BOOTH, ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY, CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO, THIS DATE. NO INTERFERENCE WITH RECRUITERS. NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS. SIT-IN PLANNED JANUARY ONE SEVEN, NEXT TO BLOCK MARINE RECRUITING BOOTH.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY, POLICE DEPARTMENT ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING THROUGH ESTABLISHED SOURCES. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

103

REC 13

100-439048-2187

14 JAN 17 1968

XEROX

JAN 1968

57 JAN 23 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI WASH DC

JAN 17 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

620PM DEFERRED 1/17/68 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); IS-SDS

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (UC) CHAPTER, SDS PLAN "GUERRILLA THEATRE" TO BE HELD ON UC CAMPUS AT TWELVE NOON, JANUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT. "GUERRILLA THEATRE" WILL BE "SATIRICAL ABSOLUTION" OF FIFTY SEVEN STUDENTS SUSPENDED FROM UC FOR PARTICIPATION IN ANTI-RANK DEMONSTRATION HELD AT ADMINISTRATION BUILDING ON CAMPUS IN SPRING NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN PROTESTING UNIVERSITIES COMPLICITY WITH MILITARY IN RANKING OF STUDENTS.

"SKIT" PLANNED TO COMMEMORATE EXPELLED STUDENTS AND EXPOSE CORRUPTION ON INSTITUTION BRINGING ABOUT SUCH ACTION. SDS HOPES THIRTY OF EXPELLED STUDENTS PRESENT AT DEMONSTRATION.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND LOCAL PD ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

GJM

70 JAN 23 1968

EX 109

JAN 18 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: January 10 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan

FROM : R. W. Smith

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
MASS MEDIA
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

1 - [REDACTED] b7C
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - MASS MEDIA Folder

Attached is memorandum of possible use in the Mass Media Program. It concerns plans by the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) for a campaign of coordinated opposition to the draft and the Vietnam war during April 20-30, 1968. SDS plans demonstrations using the slogan, "Ten Days to Shake the Empire."

Also, SDS plans to disrupt the 1968 Presidential campaign and the Democratic Party National Convention. Information in the attached has been disseminated, and because data in the attached memorandum has been taken almost entirely from public sources, and does not involve any sensitive sources, it may be useful in the Mass Media Program.

ACTION:

That this memorandum and its attachment be forwarded Crime Records Division for use in the Mass Media Program.

Enclosure

REC 3

TJD:gc
(11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

TEN DAYS TO SHAKE THE EMPIRE

"Ten Days to Shake the Empire" is the slogan of the Students for a Democratic Society for a campaign of coordinated disturbances throughout the country in April to disrupt the "establishment." SDS is a nationwide student radical group which has fomented demonstrations against the draft and the Vietnam war. It has received the active support of the Communist Party, USA, in its radical activities. According to Greg Calvert, a national officer of the SDS and an admitted Marxist, targets of this campaign include draft boards, Army induction centers, and anything else having to do with the war in Vietnam.

Another target of the SDS will be the 1968 Presidential campaign. SDS wants to provide an alternative to the "peace" campaign of Senator Eugene McCarthy; the alternative will center on draft resistance. Senator McCarthy's hope to provide a non-violent alternative to left-wing resistance over the Vietnam war, through the electoral process, is doomed to failure if Calvert and the SDS have their way. The SDS hopes to expand its influence in this area by cooperation between it and other "New Left" organizations. Calvert said at an SDS meeting in December, 1967, that the SDS must join with other leftist groups to oppose "government repressions."

During the 1968 Presidential campaign, the SDS plans to disrupt the Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago, and make President Johnson afraid to leave the White House to campaign. If the SDS succeeds, said Calvert, the President of the United States will not be able to campaign "in safety."

Dan Kaplan, President of the SDS at Indiana University, has said the SDS is split on whether to aim for socialism in this country, or whether their goal should be complete anarchy. In terms of tactics, SDS is split on whether to advocate resistance to the draft, or whether to push for "aggression" against the Selective Service System. "Aggression" would mean more than refusal to comply with Selective Service orders. Calvert belongs to the more militant wing of the SDS.

The left-wing "National Guardian" newspaper notes that SDS actually has four factions: the first says that American radicals should merely disrupt the "establishment," while radical "movements in other parts of the world take the revolutionary initiative." The second faction believes

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

revolution is not necessary, that there are radical alternatives possible within the United States and its present frame of government. A third faction calls for mass militancy to topple American capitalism, and the last group is looking for a socialist program as a prerequisite for revolution.

These four views might be summarized as revolution from without, radicalization without revolution, anarchy, and revolution resulting in socialism.

Greg Calvert, who was once quoted as saying that the late Cuban revolutionary "Che" Guevara "lives in our hearts," claims he does not advocate terrorism to achieve his goal of destroying the "old system." But he says he wants to create "anger" and then people will respond "if there is a chance to fight." Calvert has explained that the overthrow of the "establishment," the overthrow of America's social system, will come by way of a mass movement of revolution, and if necessary would mean violence.

Thus Marxists such as Calvert paraphrase a book title long associated with the communist revolution in Russia, John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World." They grandly call for their "ten days to shake the empire," and they have scheduled their plot for April 20 through 30, 1968, six days after Easter.

COPY

January 5, 1968

Mr. Atch
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Dear [REDACTED]

I received your letter and was deeply moved by the distress which you are suffering because of the fact that you innocently became a member of the Organization known as (Students For a Democratic Society. (1, 1, 1))

The agony which you are suffering because of this association, I can well understand having in mind the description given of it by J. Edgar Hoover on June 8, 1967, before the National Conference on Crime Prevention of the Michigan State Bar at Rochester, Michigan:

"Today, arrogant, demanding legions of irresponsible youths have rallied behind the banner of 'civil disobedience.' We find them in organizations of the self-proclaimed 'New Left' such as Students for Democratic Society--a militant group which receives support from the Communist Party and which, in turn, supports Communist objectives. Students for a Democratic Society was formed at a national convention held in Michigan in 1962. It has been characterized by Gus Hall, the Moscow-trained General Secretary of the Communist Party, as a group which 'we' have 'going for us.'"

I feel certain that, on the basis of what you said in your letter, the fear which you have about what your future life will be are mistaken.

ENCLOSURE

6 JAN 30 1968

JAN 9 1968

CORRESPONDENCE
CLOB

EXP. PROC.

JAN 9 1968

b7C

~~_____~~ COPY

January 5, 1968
Page 2

With your permission, I would like to send to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover a copy of your letter. Please let me hear from you; if you have anything to say to me in confidence, don't hesitate to do it because I will honor as confidential whatever you might so identify.

Sincerely yours,

Frank J. Lausche

FJL/mk
p

*See file
1-8-68
to Mr. Hoover
and
1-11-68*

COPY

January 5, 1968

Page 2

With your permission, I would like to send to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, a copy of your letter. Moreover, if you have any information of background activities of the organization, as might have been given to you by its organizers, which would be of interest to Mr. Hoover, I believe that you ought to reveal them to him.

Perhaps you can tell me what, if any, instructions were given to you by the organizers of the group calling upon you to engage in demonstrations and other activities that would tie up the operation of the school and other public agencies.

Whatever information you give me will be strictly confidential. I will see to it that the records of the F. B. I. will show your deep remorse about the fact that you innocently became a member of the agency, known as the Students for a Democratic Society.

Please let me hear from you. If you have anything to say to me in confidence, don't hesitate to do it because I will honor as confidential whatever you might so identify.

Sincerely yours,

Frank J. Lausche

FJL/nk

P

December 25, 1967

Dear Senator Lausche,

b7c I'm a student at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Last May a few students decided that our Conservative
Campus needed a push. There were about seven of us who joined
S. D. S. We were never an active chapter. I joined because I felt
that our campus needed an alternative to young Republicans.

I must admit that I believe in two of the goals of S. D. S.,
peace and civil rights but I do not believe in the methods S. D. S.
advocates. I'm planning to withdraw my membership.

I've been told that my name is on a list marked "subversive,"
is this true? I've also been told that I can never get a civil service
job or a job with a large company such as Johnson & Johnson. Will
this mistake follow me the rest of my life? Is there any way I can
correct the record ?

Thanking you in advance for what I'm sure will be your
immediate response to this problem.

Sincerely

[REDACTED]

b7c

COPY:jo

December 25, 1967
Students for Democratic Society

Dear Senator Kluwe,

I'm a student at [redacted]

[redacted] Post
Maj. A few students decided that
our Conservative Campus needed a
push. There were about seven of us
who joined S.D.S. We were never an
active chapter. I joined because I
felt that our campus needed an
alternative to Young Republicans.

I must admit that I
believe in two of the goals of S.D.S.,
Peace and Civil Rights, but I do
not believe in the methods S.D.S.
advocates. I'm planning to
withdraw my membership.

I've been told that my
name is on a list marked
"Subversive" is this true? I've also
been told that I can never get a
Civil Service job or a job with
a large company such as Johnson
& Johnson. Will this mistake follow
me the rest of my life? Is
there anyway I can correct the
record?

Thanking you in advance for
what I'm sure will be your immediate
response to this problem.

Sincerely
[redacted]

b7C

WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH., CHAIRMAN
JOHN G. EASTON, N.J.
A. S. MIRE, MINNESOTA, N.D.
FRANK J. LAUSCHE, OHIO
E. L. BARTLETT, ALASKA
JAMES HASTON, IND.
WILFRED A. HART, MICH.
HOWARD W. GARNER, NEV.
DANIEL S. BREWSTER, MD.
RUSSELL S. LONG, LA.
FRANK E. MOSS, UTAH
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C.

ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.
THURGOOD T. MARSH, N.Y.
JAMES EASTON, PA.
WILLIAM L. PROSSER, VT.
JAMES S. PEPPER, CALIF.
ROBERT F. BRITTON, MICH.

FREDERICK J. LORAN, STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 8, 1968

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Attached is a corrected copy of Page 2 of my letter
addressed to [REDACTED]

I sent a copy of [REDACTED] cor-
respondence to you on January 5th before making a change in
my letter to her.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Frank J. Lausche

FJL:ga

Please make sure to note the change

Please make sure to note the change

FJL

12-1-10-68
FJL/AL

RECEIVED
1-10-68
1-10-68

EX 101

100 - 4

JAN 9 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

January 10, 1968

REC-18 EX 107

100-439048-219101

Honorable Frank J. Lausche
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I have received the copy of your letter dated January 5th, with enclosure, to [redacted] and your letter of January 8th, with enclosure. As you requested, the corrected copy of page 2 of your letter to [redacted] will be placed with it.

Your thoughtfulness in furnishing this information to us certainly is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: We have had prior cordial correspondence with Senator Lausche. There is no record in Bureau files of [redacted] who has written to Senator Lausche indicating that she is a student at [redacted] joined Students for a Democratic Society. She feels now that she can never get a Civil Service job or one with a large company and feels her mistake will follow her the rest of her life and wants the record corrected. She seeks the advice of Senator Lausche, who indicates to her that he feels her fears are mistaken and that he is referring a copy of her letter to the Bureau and asks her to advise him of any further information which she may wish to furnish him in confidence. After approval, this correspondence should be routed to the Domestic Intelligence Division for review and analysis to determine whether any further action is warranted.

DDG: [redacted] (4)

REC'D - REYDING [redacted]

WM 10 11 22 AM '68

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

6 JAN 30 1968

WPL [redacted] - 47 [redacted]

JAN 10 1968
COMM - FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

12:55 PM DEFERRED 1/12/68 GMU

TO DIRECTOR (25-560646) (105-138315)

FROM CHICAGO (25-48332) (100-42717) (P)

PROPOSED PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BY CHICAGO AREA DRAFT RESISTERS
(CADRE) AND STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), AT U.S.
FEDERAL BUILDING, TWO ONE NINE SOUTH DEARBORN, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
FRIDAY, JANUARY TWELVE INSTANT, SSA FORTY EIGHT, SEDITION. VIDEM.
IS-SDS.

REMYTELS JAN. EIGHT AND NINE LAST.

RELIABLE CHICAGO SOURCES ADVISED JAN. ELEVEN LAST THAT AN
ANTI DRAFT RALLY OCCURED AT EPIPHANY EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ASHLAND AND
ADAMS STREETS, CHICAGO BETWEEN EIGHT THIRTY PM AND TEN THIRTY PM SPONSOR
BY CADRE AND SDS. RALLY KEYNOTED BY GARY RADER, FORMER CADRE PRESIDENT.
SPEAKERS STATED THAT DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK WOULD BE IN CHICAGO JAN.
TWENTY SEVEN NEXT.

RALLY WAS CONDUCTED TO ORGANIZE SUPPORT FOR CAPTIONED DEMONSTRATION
JAN. TWELVE INSTANT. DEMONSTRATION TO START TWELVE NOON AT FEDERAL
BUILDING ONE

66 JAN 30 1968

JAN 25 1968

100-437042-
NOT RECORDED
180 JAN 28 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

PAGE TWO (25-48332) (100-42717)

BUILDING CHICAGO, THEN MOVE TO U.S. ARMY INDUCTION CENTER, SIX ONE FIVE WEST VAN BUREN, CHICAGO. APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE AT RALLY JAN. ELEVEN LAST. NO ARRESTS OR INCIDENTS. USA, SECRET SERVICE, CGPD, ARMY INDUCTION CENTER AND MILITARY ADVISED LOCALLY. CHICAGO FOLLOWING. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

BJM

FBI WASH DC

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS

Re Oklahoma City letter to Director dated 12/21/67

In referenced letter, the Chicago Office was requested to review Office files with respect to ALAN ARTHUR FOSTER, aka Al Foster; JOHN THOMAS FOSTER and VIVIEN POE FOSTER for any pertinent information regarding these individuals. In this connection, the following is set forth:

~~ALAN ARTHUR FOSTER, aka~~
~~Al Foster~~

ST 115

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Oklahoma City (Encls. 5) (RM)
(100-7172)
1 - Chicago

ELS/laj

(5)

JAN 22 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Chicago files contained no additional information identifiable with ALAN FOSTER. For the additional information of the Oklahoma City Office, characterizations of the YSA-Chicago, YSA-National and Socialist Workers Party, Chicago Branch (CBSWP) are attached.

~~JOHN THOMAS FOSTER~~
~~VIVIEN FOSTER~~

Vivian Poe Foster
Chicago files contained the following two newspaper articles pertaining to the above individuals:

1. Article captioned: "John T. Foster Heads Unitarian Church Board," which appeared in the Waukegan, Illinois News Sun, issue of 9/30/66.
2. Article captioned: "Immorality Charge Draws Ridicule", which appeared in the Waukegan, Illinois News Sun, issue of 4/29/65. In this article, it was stated that Mrs. ~~VIVIAN FOSTER~~ of Deerfield participated in the Selma, Alabama, march held during 3/65.

111. John Thomas Foster
Xerox copies of the aforementioned newspaper articles are also being furnished to the Oklahoma Office for their information.

The following informants, who are familiar with some phases of SWP, YSA, CP and/or CP front activities in the Chicago area on the dates indicated were contacted. However, these sources were unable to furnish any information regarding ALAN FOSTER or his parents.

- 2 -
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: *January 19, 1968*

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-560646) (105-138315)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (25-48332) (100-42717)

SUBJECT: PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BY
CHICAGO AREA DRAFT RESISTERS (CADRE)
AND STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS) AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING,
219 SOUTH DRARBORN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
FRIDAY, 1/12/68
SSA, 1948; SEDITION;
VIDEM;
IS - SDS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Re Chicago airtel and LHM dated 1/9/68, Chicago teletype 1/9/68 and 1/12/68, Chicago teletype dated 1/12/68 is captioned, "PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BY CHICAGO AREA DRAFT RESISTERS (CADRE) AND STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING, 219 SOUTH DRARBORN, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, FRIDAY, 1/12/68, SSA, 1948; SEDITION; VIDEM; IS - SDS" and "ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, SM - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)", OO: CHICAGO.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eighteen (18) copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) regarding captioned

9 - Bureau (Encls. 18)

(1 - 100-439190

(SNCC)

(1 - 100-439048

(SDS)

(1 - 100-448502

(BOB BROWN)

(1 - 100-

(DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION)

9 - Chicago

(1 - 100-44280)

(CADRE)

(1 - 100-40342)

(SNCC)

(1 - 100-10653)

(BOB BROWN)

(1 - [REDACTED])

(SDS)

(1 - 100-41306)

(DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION)

(1 - 157-2410)

(DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION) CARBON COPY

BPK:bab

(18)

CLASSIFIED BY 1259

EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

11-8-78 55P/BTS

100-439048-
NOT RECORDED

78 JAN 25 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 25-560646-28

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

CONFIDENTIAL M

Per _____

66 JAN 30 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 25-48332
100-42717

demonstration at Chicago, Illinois. One (1) copy each of the above LHM is being furnished to the USA and Secret Service, both of Chicago and the 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

b7D

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED] c

b1

[REDACTED] c

b7D

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED] c

The enclosed LHM is classified confidential because it contains information from above listed sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize these sources and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Chicago Office files contain insufficient information to subversively characterize individuals and organizations mentioned in the enclosed LHM not subversively characterized.

Agents observing demonstration are as follows.

b7C

[REDACTED]

CG 100-40903

CONFIDENTIAL

67 CD
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Review of the current telephone director for Deerfield, Illinois, reflects that JOHN T. FOSTER presently resides at 1601 Montgomery Road, Deerfield, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 25-18332
100-42717

CONFIDENTIAL

DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY CHICAGO
AREA DRAFT RESISTERS (CADRE) AND
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 12, 1968

The January 9, 1968 edition of the "Chicago Daily News" announced on Page 38 that an anti-draft rally would be staged at 8:00 p.m., Thursday, January 11, 1968, at the Epiphany Episcopal Church, Ashland Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The article stated that the rally is designed to organize support for a noon demonstration, January 12, 1968 in front of the United States Federal Building, 213 South Dearborn Street, Chicago. The article further stated that this Friday demonstration was to be part of a nation wide protest of the indictment in Boston, Massachusetts last April of Dr. Benjamin Spock and four others on charges of conspiring to counsel young men to avoid the draft.

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1

Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY 1859
11-7-77 35P/073

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY CADRE
AND SDS AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 12, 1968

b7D

[REDACTED] advised on January 11, 1968 that an anti-draft rally occurred at the Epiphany Episcopal Church, Ashland Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois, between 8:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. sponsored by CADRE and SDS. Gary Rader, former president of CADRE and who was recently convicted of a Selective Service violation, moderated the meeting. Staughton Lynd, a former Yale University History Professor who has visited North Vietnam and China and who was denied a teaching position by the Chicago State College last fall after having accepted an appointment in April, 1966, spoke of support for CADRE. The Committee for Academic Freedom in Illinois (CAFI) fought for and secured Lynd's reinstatement. Greg Calvert spoke for more militancy in the anti-draft and anti-war movement.

Greg Calvert

b7D

[REDACTED] advised that Greg Calvert is a former national officer of SDS.

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

b7D

[REDACTED] additionally advised that Bob Brown who was introduced as a leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was the most violent rabble rouser of the evening. Brown advocated using dynamite to bomb the national convention to be held in Chicago later this year. Brown also advocated bombing of the oil refineries, specifically mentioning Standard Oil. Brown further stated that we should not bomb individual service stations because we might kill a soul brother. Brown did not know how the white people feel about the war, but all Negroes are very serious about protesting the illegal war in Vietnam. Brown shouted that there would be no Democratic convention in Chicago.

b7D

[REDACTED] advised that Brown stated that he would not march in protest of the convention but that he would do something about the convention. Brown also stated that he has no mayor, governor or president and the laws made by these people do not pertain to him, consequently he cannot commit a crime. Brown expressed his support for CADRE and said that the time for talking is over and that they

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY CADRE
AND SDS AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 12, 1968

(the audience) should talk with "fire." Brown finished his talk by stating that CADRE should not demonstrate at the various universities but should instead, burn down the Dow Chemical Company.

On January 12, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed approximately 100 individuals demonstrating at the United States Federal Building, 219 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois in protest of the Vietnam war and the draft. The demonstration commenced at approximately 12 noon and at 12:30 p.m. the demonstrators marched to the United States Induction Center, 615 West Van Buren, Chicago, where picketing continued until approximately 1:45 p.m.

Pickets carried signs which read, "We will resist illegitimate authority," "Burn draft cards not people," and "Armies kill people." The picketing was peaceful and there were no arrests or incidents.

The following individuals were advised of the above information:

[REDACTED]
United States District Court
Chicago, Illinois

b7c [REDACTED]
United States Marshal's Office
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
United States Attorney's Office
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
General Services Administration
Chicago, Illinois

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY CADRE
AND SDS AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 12, 1968

b7c - [REDACTED]
United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Region I, 113th Military Intelligence
Group
Evanston, Illinois

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY CADRE
AND SDS AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 12, 1968

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, demanding United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for it." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an "anti-communist" proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are no communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1603 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 25-48332
100-42717

Title

DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY CHICAGO
AREA DRAFT RESISTERS (CADRE) AND
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
AT U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 12, 1968

Character

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

b7D [REDACTED]

P

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

644PM URGENT 1-17-68 RMW
TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS - SDS.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY APPROXIMATELY TWELVE TO FIFTEEN
DEMONSTRATORS SURROUNDED AND OCCUPIED MARINE RECRUITING BOOTH,
CIRCLE CAMPUS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CHICAGO, FROM TEN A.M. TO
TWO FORTY FIVE P.M. THIS DATE.

MARINE RECRUITERS IN INTEREST OF PUBLIC SAFETY DID NOT MAN
BOOTH AWAITING UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS ATTEMPTS TO DISPERSE DEMONSTRAT-
TORS; HOWEVER, DEMONSTRATORS IGNORED DIRECT ORDERS OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS
AND CONTINUED SIT-IN AND MILL-IN. RECRUITERS NEVER ABLE TO OCCUPY
BOOTH THROUGHOUT DAY.

JOE HORTON, MEMBER, CHICAGO AREA DRAFT RESISTERS, IDENTIFIED
AS ONE DEMONSTRATION LEADER. ROBERT LUCAS, CHAIRMAN, CHICAGO BRANCH
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, IN VIOLATION UNIVERSITY POLICY AGAINST
SPEAKERS WITHOUT PERMIT, SPOKE VICINITY OF MARINE BOOTH EXTRACTING
BLACK STUDENT POWER, AT WHICH TIME APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED CHIEF'S
STUDENTS OBSERVED IN VICINITY.

16 JAN 22 1968

END PAGE ONE

PAGE TWO

CHICAGO PD ON SCENE WOULD NOT ARREST DEMONSTRATORS WITHOUT
SPECIFIC COMPLAINT FROM UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS. NO ARRESTS MADE SINCE
SCHOOL OFFICIALS FEARED RIOT MAY OCCUR IF ORDER GIVEN. STUDENTS
DISPERSED APPROXIMATELY TWO FORTY FIVE P.M.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY, CHICAGO PD ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

LLD

FBI WASH DC

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JAN 18 1968

FBI CHICAGO

TELETYPE

540PM 1-18-68 DEFERRED TAB

TO: DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM: CHICAGO (100-40903)

Mr. Mel	_____
Mr. B	_____
Mr. C	_____
Mr. G	_____
Mr. H	_____
Mr. J	_____
Mr. K	_____
Mr. L	_____
Mr. M	_____
Mr. N	_____
Mr. O	_____
Mr. P	_____
Mr. Q	_____
Mr. R	_____
Mr. S	_____
Mr. T	_____
Mr. U	_____
Mr. V	_____
Mr. W	_____
Mr. X	_____
Mr. Y	_____
Mr. Z	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) , IS-SDS

RE CHICAGO TEL JANUARY SEVENTEEN LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (UC) CHAPTER, SDS, SPONSORED "GUERRILLA THEATER" ON UC CAMPUS BEGINNING TWELVE TEN P.M. THIS DATE. "SKIT" WAS PRODUCED MOCKING UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS WHO EXPELLED FIFTYSEVEN STUDENTS FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN ANTI-FA V DEMONSTRATION HELD ON CAMPUS IN SPRING, NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN. APPROXIMATELY EIGHT SDS MEMBERS PARTICIPATED IN SKIT WHICH WAS OBSERVED BY APPROXIMATELY FOUR HUNDRED STUDENTS AND TERMINATED TWELVE THIRTY P.M. WITHOUT INCIDENT.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS

END

SVW

FBI WASH DC

P

REC-42

18 JAN 22 1968

34 JAN 23 1968

XEROX

JAN 1968

cc - Thompson

FBI WASH DC

CONFIDENTIAL

FBI CHICAGO

1139PM DEFERRED 1-19-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) IS - SDS;
VIDEM; DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY AGAINST
MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS
(UICC), CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, BY CAMPUS POLICE JANUARY
EIGHTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT - RM.

REMYTEL TODAY.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY "THE BROTHERS," BLACK
POWER STUDENT GROUP UICC, CHICAGO, STAGED DEMONSTRATIONS,
IN SUPPORT OF MALDONADO VARGAS AND THEIR DEMANDS PREVIOUSLY
PRESENTED TO CAMPUS OFFICIALS, ON CAMPUS THROUGHOUT THE DAY. "THE BROTHERS" PREVENTED OTHERS FROM ACCESS TO
ELEVATORS, WASHROOMS, AND APPEARED IN GROUPS IN LIBRARIES,
FACULTY LOUNGE, AND CAFETERIA IN APPARENT SHOW OF STRENGTH.

END PAGE ONE

XEROX
JAN 1968

PAGE TWO

CONFIDENTIAL
// b1

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (C)

NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS. USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL
MILITARY AUTHORITIES, PD, ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING
CLOSELY. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

RA PCMG

FBI WASH DC

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

1153AM URGENT 1/19/68 JLS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) (157-NEW) 3P

REC 73

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS - SDS; VIDEM;
DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY AGAINST MALDONADO
VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC), CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY EIGHTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY-
EIGHT - RM.

RE MY TEL TODAY.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY DURING DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING
VIET NAM WAR AND MARINE RECRUITING ON UICC, JANUARY EIGHTEEN
LAST, TWO ALTERCATIONS OCCURRED BETWEEN TWO WHITE STUDENTS AND
TWO MEMBERS OF "THE BROTHERS", A NEGRO STUDENT BLACK POWER
GROUP OF UICC CAMPUS.

REC-73

THE INCIDENT OCCURRED WHEN PENNY WAS THROWN AT U.S. FLAG.
UNIDENTIFIED WHITE STUDENT RETRIEVED COIN THROWING IT IN THE
DIRECTION OF "THE BROTHERS", STRIKING MALDONADO VARGAS, PRE-
STUDENT, LEADER OF "THE BROTHERS". FIGHTING ENSUED AND VARGAS
FORCIBLY REMOVED BY CAMPUS POLICE.

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

PAGE TWO CG 100-40903

DURING STRUGGLE WITH POLICE, VARGAS BIT ONE OFFICER, THEN STRUCK OWN HEAD ON METAL CABINET CAUSING HEAD WOUND NECESSITATING FOUR STITCHES.

VARGAS AND "THE BROTHERS" NOW CONDUCTING SIT-IN TWENTY-SEVENTH FLOOR, ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, UICC, AFTER BEING REFUSED ADMITTANCE TO CHANCELLOR NORMAN PARKER'S OFFICE, TWENTY-EIGHTH FLOOR. PARKER ACCEPTED DEMANDS FROM THE "BROTHERS" BUT NOT YET REPLIED. DEMANDS INCLUDE SEVERE DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST FOUR CAMPUS POLICE, PUNISHMENT OF WHITE STUDENT INVOLVED IN ALTERCATION, ABOLISHMENT OF BLACK HATRED AND DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS.

SECOND INCIDENT INVOLVED UNIDENTIFIED MEMBER "THE BROTHERS" AND WHITE ATHLETE STUDENT. NEITHER IDENTIFIED OR ARRESTED.

SOURCE ADVISED "THE BROTHERS" HAVE REJECTED SUPPORT BY SDS. SDS EXPECTED TO SUBMIT DEMANDS TO CHANCELLOR.
END. PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE 100-40903

UICC AUTHORITIES FEAR INCIDENT BETWEEN WHITE STUDENT
ATHLETES AND "THE BROTHERS" SOMETIME TODAY. CHICAGO PD
IN FORCE ON CAMPUS FOR USE IF NEEDED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING
CLOSELY. USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY ADVISED. CHICAGO
PD AWARE. CHICAGO INDICES NEGATIVE RE VARGAS. LHM FOLLOWS.
CHICAGO CONDUCTING SEPARATE INQUIRY RE VARGAS AND "THE BROTHERS".

END

SVW

FBI WASH DC

IN MR. SULLIVAN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JAN 22 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

534PM DEFERRED 1/22/68 EOM
TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS; VIDEM;
DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY AGAINST MALDONADO
VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC), CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY EIGHTEEN LAST - RM.

REMYTEL, JANUARY NINETEEN LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY REPRESENTATIVES OF "THE
BROTHERS," NEGRO STUDENT BLACK POWER GROUP, UICC, MET TODAY
WITH CHANCELLOR PARKER, UICC. RESULTS OF MEETING UNKNOWN TO
SOURCE. CAMPUS CALM. NO DEMONSTRATIONS OR DISTURBANCES HAVE
OCCURED. USA, LOCAL MILITARY, PD ADVISED. LHM FOLLOS.

END

BJP

FBI WASH DC

P

REC 16

JAN 25 1968

XCHOS

JAN 25

JAN 23 1968

RECEIVED
EXCEPT
OTHERWISE

CJ

Date of Mail _____

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL

24 JAN 30 1961

Removed By. _____

File Number 100-439048-2198

Permanent Serial Charge Out

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JAN 19 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

102AM DEFERRED 1/19/68 WGW

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 2P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) IS-SDS; VIDEM.

Internal Security, Viet Nam Demonstration

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CHICAGO/PP ADVISED JANUARY EIGHTEEN LAST YOUNG SOCIALIST

ALLIANCE (YSA), UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS COMMITTEE
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, CHICAGO AREA DRAFT RESISTERS (CADRE)
SET UP PROTEST DESK ELEVEN AM SAME DATE AT STUDENT UNION CENTER,
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO, PROTESTING MARINE
CORPS RECRUITING ON CAMPUS JANUARY SIXTEEN AND JANUARY SEVENTEEN
LAST.

REC-52 100-439048 2199

ALTERCATION OCCURRED DURING DEBATE AMONG STUDENTS RESULTING
IN ARREST TWO FIFTEEN PM SAME DATE OF JAKE MOROWITZ, PRESIDENT
SDS CHAPTER, CIRCLE CAMPUS. MOROWITZ CHARGED DISORDERLY CONDUCT ON
COMPLAINT SIGNED BY UNIVERSITY POLICE. LATER RELEASED TWENTY
FIVE DOLLAR BOND.

END PAGE ONE

62 FEB 1 1968

JAN 1968

PAGE TWO (100-40903)

DURING HIGH POINT OF DEBATE THREE HUNDRED STUDENTS,
MOSTLY CURIOUS OBSERVERS IN VICINITY. FOLLOWING ARREST OF
MOROWITZ POLICE DISPERSED CROWD.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

R C H

FBI WASH DC

Special File Room of Records Branch.

P.

... by

5 63 4 09

... 11

FBI

Date: *January 9, 1968*

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

CONFIDENTIAL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES
(SDS)
IS - SDS

Received
CLASSIFIED BY *1259*
CDS, CATEGORY *2*

11-8-78 551/543

~~TEACHING
OFFICES
SDS~~

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of LHM and appropriate copies designated to offices listed below which sets forth information concerning an SDS National Council meeting in Bloomington, Indiana, on 12/27 -31/67.

New York is requested to submit characterizations of WALTER TEAGUE, JR., and Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front.

b1
b7D
This LHM is stamped confidential because it is reported [redacted] of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)

REC-63

101

JAN 13 1968

Copies continued on 11 page.

LER:dlr
(34)

Approved: _____

1 JAN 31 1968 Special Agent in Charge

AGENCY: G-2, OM, OSI, SEC. SER.

RAO (ISO, CDD, CH)

Sent DATE FORW: _____

HOW: EDRW: _____

1928



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

January 9, 1968

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

b7D

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on [REDACTED] that a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Council meeting was held on December 27 - 31, 1967, in the Student Union, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

The SDS is characterized hereinafter.

Approximately 350 participated in the conference, most of whom are SDS members. The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) had 15 to 25 in attendance, including Earl Silbar, a member of the PLP in Chicago. The Youth Against War and Fascism had 10 to 15 members in attendance, including Jim Eyman and Pamela Kirkland from Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The PLP and the Youth Against War and Fascism are characterized hereinafter.

*Attended by 1482 SJM/AS
9/10/78*

CONFIDENTIAL
Group I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

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to include

1259

SP/BTS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY
DATE

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

CONFIDENTIAL

The Communist Party (CP) did not intervene in the conference in an organized way, however, Bob Grove, a CP member from Bloomington, Indiana, attended.

b1 [REDACTED]

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The YSA is characterized hereinafter.

The SWP and YSA members in attendance sold \$180 worth of literature during the conference. The best selling literature consisted of pamphlets on Malcolm X, the Cuban Revolution, Speeches by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara and the YSA Che Guevara poster.

Other organizations having literature tables at the conference were PLP, Youth Against War and Fascism, SDS and Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front.

Linda Morse, National Coordinator, Student Mobilization Committee, New York City, also attended the conference.

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

CONFIDENTIAL

The conference decided that the SDS will organize 10 days of extensive anti-war activities on campuses nationally in the latter part of April, 1968. Regional conferences and local SDS chapters will decide on what type of anti-war actions will be organized during the 10 days of protest.

The SDS will send a delegate to the National Administrative Body of the National Mobilization Committee to plan anti-war demonstrations at the Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago, Illinois.

Sources utilized in the characterizations set forth hereinafter have furnished reliable information in the past.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are more communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967 was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

1

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life - where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A source advised on March 29, 1965, that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the Summer of 1962 to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities and thereby gain recruits for the organization.

A second source advised on October 23, 1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF described that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the YAWF maintains its headquarters at 58 West 25th Street, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan."

CONFIDENTIAL

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

CONFIDENTIAL

SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

1/26/68

Director, FBI (100-439043)

1 - [REDACTED]

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS**

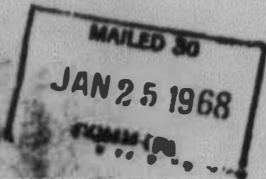
b7c

The 1/8/68 issue of "New Left Notes," on page two, sets forth a list of 18 new chapters of captioned organization. In your review of each issue of "New Left Notes," you should insure that when such lists are in this publication, appropriate field offices are advised of the new chapters in their respective areas so that investigations may be initiated concerning these chapters, their officers, and leading activists.

WNP:lrh
(4)

NOTE:

"New Left Notes" is the weekly publication of SDS.



200-12

47-113

JAN 26 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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OTHERWISE

62 FEB 1 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

60

60

DATE FORM 1-25-61
HOWARD
BY: [illegible]

SUBJECT

CRIMINAL RECORDS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-11-81 BY 1043

11/11/81

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

60



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
January 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40903

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMO-
CRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

b7D

On [REDACTED] a source advised the University of Chicago (UC) Chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) planned to hold a "gorilla theatre" on campus of UC beginning at noon on January 18, 1968. A "skit" was planned that would be presented at Hutchinson Commons at UC which would be a "satirical absolution" of the sins of the 57 students who were expelled from the university in the spring of 1967 for their participation in an anti-rank demonstration. This demonstration was in protest of the university complicity with the military in ranking of students for the benefit of Selective Service.

According to source the "skit" would commemorate those students whom SDS considered to be unjustifiably expelled and would critically expose the institution which brought about the expulsion.

b7D

This source advised on [REDACTED] that the "skit" took place at Hutchinson Commons beginning at 12:10 PM on that date with approximately 400 students and university personnel who were observing while on their lunch hour. The "skit" was written by Robert Salasin and "actors" in the "skit" were for the most part SDS personnel, namely Tim Naylor, Chris Hoban, Miles Bogulescu, Steve Rothkrug, Steve Morse and Kathy Fischer. The "skit" depicted expelled students begging forgiveness of their "sins" before university officials who were made the objects of vilification.

#6086

288 1200

DEC 11 1967
11-9-77

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF DATE
DATE 11-9-77

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BY 1259

11-7-77 338 1375

ENCLOSURE

RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMO-
CRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

CONFIDENTIAL

b7D [REDACTED]

The PLP and SDS have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 and are appended hereto.

The first source stated the "skit" ended at 12:30 PM without incident.

The following agencies were advised of the aforementioned activities:

[REDACTED] Region I
NSM Group,
Evanston, Illinois

b7C [REDACTED]
United States Attorney's Office,
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Chicago Police Department
Chicago, Illinois

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, opposing the United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. On October 7, 1965, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are no communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 19, 1967, was located in Room 200, 100 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EFTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for allegedly following the Chinese Communist line.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor" a bi-monthly magazine "Challenge" a monthly New York City newspaper and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1965 issue of "Challenge," page 10, has that "This party is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the workers, men and women own and control their own factories, schools, and the entire government at every level.

A source advised on September 23, 1965, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York. It also utilizes an office in Room 611, 1 Union Square, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. CG 100-40903

Title STUDENTS FOR A DEMO-
CRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Memorandum of Special Agent
b1c [REDACTED] dated and captioned
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Mail Jan. 26, 1968

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL Students for a Democratic Society - Gen.

Removed By PS 6 FEB 7 1968

File Number 100-439048-2203

Permanent Serial Charge Out

2/2/68

CONFIDENTIAL

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-154013)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-4271)

SUBJECT: MURDER
IS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Re Chicago teletypes to the Bureau dated 1/2/68
and 2/2/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies
of an undated and captioned "LETTER TO THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
AT FORT MONROE, WILLIAM BENTON, AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, ON
FEBRUARY 1, 1968, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS". One copy of this
letter is enclosed for Omaha for information. A copy of this
enclosure is being disseminated locally to the Chicago, Illinois,
and St. Louis, Missouri, offices. A copy is also being disseminated to the
Service at Chicago since that Agency has a primary interest
in the information set forth in the letter.

b7c
The area of the Grand Wilson Hotel at 1100 N. Dearborn St.,
Chicago, Illinois, was searched on 2/2/68, and the following information was obtained:

Summary of information obtained in the search:

RE:

CLASSIFIED BY 1735

EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 1

REASON FOR EXEMPTION: 1.7.2.1

1 - Bureau (Enc. 13) (RM)

① - 100-4271-48 (STUDENT FOR A DECATAGUE 1968)

1 - 100-4271-48 (STUDENT FOR A DECATAGUE 1968)

1 - Chicago (Enc. 1) (RM) (Info)

3 - Chicago

1 - 100-4271-48 (STUDENT FOR A DECATAGUE 1968)

1 - 100-4271-48 (STUDENT FOR A DECATAGUE 1968)

CCP:RCS

ENCLOSURE

EXEMPTION
EXEMPT FROM GDS
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

100-4271-48

CG 100-42717

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b1

[REDACTED]

c

b7c

Second source is SA [REDACTED], I.S. Secret Service, Chicago.

The enclosed LHM is classified "confidential" to protect the identity of a confidential source who remains in a position to furnish information of value to the Bureau. It is also so classified since information contained therein concerning the Vice-President's travel to Omaha, Nebraska, from Chicago on 5/15/68 was confidentially furnished by SA [REDACTED] of the Secret Service, Chicago.

b7c

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bureau: 105-138315

Chicago: 100-12717

Chicago, Illinois
February 2, 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING APPEARANCE OF
VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY H. HUMPHREY AT
DINNER HONORING WILLIAM BENTON AT
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ON FEBRUARY 1,
1968, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

b7D

A source reported on [REDACTED], that the University of Chicago Chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) learned of a planned surprise visit to the University of Chicago Campus during the evening of February 1, 1968, by Vice-President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey. The Vice-President's appearance was for the purpose of delivering an address, in Mandel Hall, at the university, honoring former Senator William Benton of Connecticut.

The University of Chicago Chapter of SDS and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) of Chicago, with anti-war activists thereafter organized to jointly participate in an anti-Viet Nam picket demonstration during the February 1, 1968, appearance of Vice-President Humphrey on the University of Chicago Campus.

A second source reported that at 9:00 PM on February 1, 1968, approximately fifty demonstrators had gathered in front of Mandel Hall, on the University of Chicago Campus, protesting United States intervention in Viet Nam. The number of protestors increased by 11:00 PM on February 1, 1968, to approximately 600 persons when Vice-President Humphrey departed the hall. See also

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~SECRET~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1254
11-77-5341875

DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING APPEARANCE OF
VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY AT
DINNER HONORING WILLIAM BENTON AT
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ON FEBRUARY 1,
1968, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

demonstrators had to be removed from the roof of Mandel Hall. An unidentified person hurled a mud-ball that struck the automobile the Vice-President rode in on departing from the hall en route to the Conrad Hilton Hotel, in Chicago, where he was to spend the night. No damage resulted to the automobile or to the Vice-President as a result of the mud-ball having been thrown.

b1C On February 1, 1968, [REDACTED] of the Chicago Police Department advised that the persons who participated in the demonstration were equally divided in number as to being male and female. The protestors showed anti-war slogans and carried signs, some of which read, "Get Out of This Immoral War", "Support Our Boys - Bring Them Home", and "Peace Not War". Several of the demonstrators were observed handing out literature that SDS had published. There were 500 to 600 demonstrators present at 11:00 PM, when the Vice-President departed the University of Chicago. By 11:30 PM the group had completely dispersed. There were no other incidents and no arrests were made at the demonstration.

The second source further advised that Vice-President Humphrey, after having remained overnight of February 1, 1968, at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, in Chicago, would depart at 8:30 AM, February 2, 1968, from Midway Airport, Chicago, destined for Omaha, Nebraska, where he is scheduled to speak.

The second source related on February 2, 1968, that Vice-President Humphrey left the Conrad Hilton Hotel at 8:25 AM on February 2, 1968, in a motorcade which proceeded to Midway Airport. Vice-President Humphrey departed Midway Airport, Chicago, via plane at 9:05 AM, destined for Omaha, Nebraska. There were no demonstrations or incidents of any kind during the Vice-President's visit to Chicago after his departure, during the evening of February 1, 1968, from the University of Chicago campus.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING APPEARANCE OF
VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT
DINNER HONORING WILLIAM BENTON AT
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ON FEBRUARY 1,
1968, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

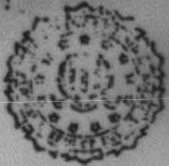
CONFIDENTIAL

The following individuals were advised on
February 1, 2, 1968, concerning this activity:

b7c
[REDACTED]
Region I, 113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

[REDACTED]
United States Attorney's Office
Chicago, Illinois

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
February 2, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bureau 105-138315
Chicago 100-42717

Title

DEMONSTRATION PROMPTING APPEARANCE
OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
AT DINNER HONORING WILLIAM BENTON AT
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ON FEBRUARY 1,
1968, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Character

Reference

Chicago memorandum dated and
captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

The second source is another government agency
that conducts personnel investigation and collects security
information.

100-434048-2203

CHANGED TO

100-439048-34-122X

AUG 5 1971

M N Tmnn

✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 2/2/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

GENL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

For the information of the Bureau, attached are two copies of the aforementioned SDS National Constitution.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - Chicago

ELS:jeo
(3)

ENCLOSURE

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

cc ltr and
9220

REC-21

100-439048-2

EX-105

10 FEB 5 1968

57 FEB 9 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Students for a Democratic Society

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

(as amended at the 1967 National Convention,
Ann Arbor, Mich.)

PREAMBLE

Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty.

It maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks a relevance through the continual focus on realities and on the programs necessary to effect change at the most basic levels of economic, political and social organization. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision.

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the organization shall be Students for a Democratic Society.

ARTICLE II: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership is open to all who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

Section 2. SDS is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social, or political organization.

Section 3. DUES. The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

Section 4. ASSOCIATES. Individuals who do not wish to join SDS, but who share the major concerns of the organization, may become associates, with rights and responsibilities as defined by the national council.

ARTICLE III: CHAPTERS AND AFFILIATES

Section 1. Any group of five or more members may apply to the National Office for charter as a chapter.

Section 2. A chapter may be chartered by the regional council of the area in which it is organized, or by the national council. The chapter shall submit a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles, and notification of officers or regional representatives. Chapters may be provisionally recognized by the president or appropriate regional officer pending the meeting of the N.C. or regional council respectively.

Section 3. Chapters are expected to operate within the broad terms of policy set by the national convention and the national council. Points of conflict should be referred to the national

Section 4. The National Secretary shall have primary responsibility for the functioning of the National Office. The National Secretary shall also have the primary responsibility for the implementation of national programs approved by the Convention or National Council.

Section 5. The Inter-Organizational Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations, both national and international, and for informing the membership about these groups. He/she shall not attend congresses, accept money, or establish formal relationships with organizations without the approval of the Convention, National Council, or in emergency, the NIC.

Section 6. The Education Secretary shall have the primary responsibility for the functioning of the internal education program.

Section 7. The secretaries shall appoint assistants as necessary, subject to approval of the National Council.

Section 8. The National Council shall elect administrative bodies to review administrative decisions of the secretaries. It shall also fill, for the duration of the term, positions vacated by the National Officers.

ARTICLE IX: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

In all cases not covered by this Constitution, Robert's Rules of Order, Revised Edition, shall be the authority governing SDS business.

ARTICLE X: POLICY AND DISCIPLINE

Section 1. Any member of the organization, including the officers, may be expelled or relieved of duties by a two-thirds vote of the national council. Due process shall be followed in all cases.

8
Section 2. Any two chapters, or one-third of the national council, can initiate a national referendum on any question.
Section 3. All statements of organizational policy shall have the approval of the national council.

ARTICLE XI: AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended by one of three procedures:

- a. by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in session on amendments introduced at the Convention, in which case the amendment will take effect at the following Convention;
- b. by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in session on amendments introduced by distribution to the membership at least a month before the Convention, in which case the amendment will take effect immediately upon adoption;
- c. by a two-thirds vote of the membership on referendum, in which case the amendment will take effect immediately upon adoption.

Originally adopted in Convention, June 1962; amended in Convention, June 1963, June 1964, June 1965, September 1966, June 1967.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
1000 W. Madison St.
Chicago, Illinois 60612
312/666-3474

100-439048-2204

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY -
SEDITION

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. W. M. Felt

DATE: January 26, 1968

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The Department has made a number of requests during the past month requesting investigations to determine if Sedition statutes have been violated by the SDS during attempts made to disrupt the recruiting activities of the Armed Forces on college campuses. In these requests interest was expressed as to whether these are isolated incidents or a part of a conspiracy organized by the SDS.

The field has previously been instructed to develop the information requested by the Department.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, has described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." "New Left Notes," the weekly publication of SDS, has claimed more than 250 chapters of the SDS in the United States. The national headquarters is located in Chicago.

In order to consolidate this information so that we may have a complete picture relative to the conspiracy aspects of this case and to insure that nothing is overlooked in view of the tenor of several separate requests from the Department, the field is being instructed to furnish Chicago, the office of origin, pertinent information relative to all seditious activities of the SDS and Chicago is being instructed to submit a report.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel to all offices be approved and transmitted.

PTK:jal
(7)

ENCLOSURE

REC-73 100-439078-220

EX 106

JAN 30

2 PM '68

J-1

FEB 2 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 2/5/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

General

Re Bureau letter dated 1/26/68

Referenced Bureau letter stated that the 1/8/68 issue of "New Left Notes", contained an article setting forth a list of New SDS Chapters and instructed Chicago that when lists of this nature appear in this publication, to promptly advise appropriate field offices.

With respect to the above, the Chicago Office by letter to Detroit, dated 1/12/68, with copies to appropriate field offices, advised these offices concerning the New SDS Chapters and instructed appropriate action be taken.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, Chicago will continue to review each issue of "New Left Notes" and disseminate pertinent information to appropriate offices.

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
ELS:lmv
(3)

REC-59 100-439048-2206

3 FEB 7 1968

62 FEB 12 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI,

2/1/68

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM:-- SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS

Re Miami airtel to Director dated 1/11/68 with no copies to New York or Detroit, and Los Angeles airtel to Director dated 1/18/68.

In Re Miami airtel it was stated that on 1/8/68, "Radio Havana, Cuba" announced that representatives of the North American Congress of Latin America and SDS had arrived in Havana, Cuba, to attend the Cultural Congress of Havana 1/8-11/68. These individuals were identified over this broadcast as PETER HANEN (ph) and SUSAN SUINS or SUSAN KLING (ph).

Review of Chicago files reflects the following information:

In the report of SA [REDACTED] dated 12/22/67 Detroit captioned "STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS-SDS" on page 13 it was indicated that Professor PETER HANEN, Mathematics Department, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was one of a number of professors who would join in a sit-in demonstration protesting the University of Michigan's participation in classified war research.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- 1 - Miami (RM) (100-15128) (Info)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

ELS:meb

(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 100-40903

b7c In the report of SA [REDACTED] dated 12/28/67 at New York captioned SDS, IS-SDS, on page 16 it was indicated that a SUSAN SIMENSKY, 359 Wortman Avenue, Brooklyn, was arrested in connection with a protest demonstration at Brooklyn College.

The Detroit and New York Offices are requested to attempt to ascertain if Professor PETER HINMAN and SUSAN SIMENSKY are possibly identical to individuals as announced by Radio Havana on 1/8/68, and if identical take appropriate action in accordance with Bureau instructions regarding individuals travelling abroad.

Chicago is continuing to ascertain the identities of SDS members who may be travelling to Cuba and in the event additional information is received regarding this matter, the Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised.

FBI

Date: 1/30/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(IS - SDS)

Re Los Angeles airtel to the Director dated 1/19/68.

In referenced Los Angeles airtel it was stated that in the 12/67, issue of the "Southern California SDS Newsletter", information was set forth that the National Interim Committee (NIC) of the SDS had selected 20 SDS members to travel to Cuba early in 1968. All offices were requested to attempt to ascertain the identities of the other 18 SDS members who may travel to Cuba.

As the Bureau is aware, CARL DAVIDSON, Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS, and TODD GITLIN who is presently associated with JOIN, the community action organization of SDS, have been previously identified as being individuals who will travel to Cuba from Chicago.

On 1/26/68, [REDACTED] Passport Division, Department of State, Chicago, Illinois, advised that his office had received inquiry from a representative of SDS, Chicago, concerning the validating of passports for SDS members who contemplate traveling to Cuba in order to attend a conference in early 1968 as representatives of a newspaper.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - WFO (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-66519) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-148047) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

ELS:flk

(8)

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1968
EXCISE UNIT
CHICAGO

66
FEB 1 1968

FEB 1 1968

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b7C [redacted] stated that as a result of the aforementioned SDS inquiry he contacted the Department of State, Washington, D. C., and it was determined that the State Department, Washington, D. C., had received requests from various cities notably New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, requesting validation by SDS members for round trip travel to Cuba. He stated that the State Department had validated the travel as requested but specified that those traveling to Cuba must attend the conferences as observers and not as delegates. It was further specified that none of the expenses incurred by the SDS members be funded by the Cuban Government.

b7C [redacted] further stated that to his knowledge the only persons requesting passports in Chicago were CARL DAVIDSON and TODD GILTIN and he did not know the identity of the other SDS members who had applied for passports. [redacted] added that the identities of all the SDS members who had requested permission to travel to Cuba might be obtained through the Legal Office, Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

For the additional information of the Bureau, Chicago has alerted appropriate sources who are in contact with the national office of SDS in an effort to fully identify all SDS members traveling to Cuba. Chicago is following this matter closely and in the event additional information is received regarding such travel this information will be immediately furnished to the Bureau and all interested offices.

LEADS

WFO

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. WFO is requested to contact officials at the Legal Office, Passport Division, Department of State, to attempt to ascertain the identities of SDS members who are planning to travel to Cuba. If such information is obtained the Bureau, Chicago, and interested offices will be immediately advised in order that appropriate action can be taken regarding such travel.

FBI

Date: 1-24-68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)(105-138315) (157-new)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS;

VIDEM;

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC), CHICAGO
ILLINOIS, BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968
RM

Remytels 1/15, 1/16, 1/17, and 1/19/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 18 copies of an LHM
captioned and dated as above.

6 - Bureau (Encls. 18) (RM)

16 - Chicago

1 - 157-2507

1 - 157-

(MALDONADO VARGAS)

1 - 157-

("THE BROTHERS")

1 - 100-43255

(RICHARD HILL)

1 - 100-44341

(JOE HORTON)

1 - 100-43874

(MIO JOHN VILLAGOMEZ)

1 - 100-40903

(SDS)

1 - 100-44710

(SDS, UICC Chapter)

1 - 100-44665

(UICC COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM)

1 - 100-42717

(VIDEM)

1 - 100-44280

(CADRE)

1 - 100-

(JACOB MOROWITZ)

1 - 100-36519

(YSA)

1 - 100-42972

(STUART EDWARD SMITH)

1 - 157-751

(ROBERT LUCAS) REC 27

1 - 100-44023

(CARL PHILLIP FINAMORE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

PLT:mb
(32)

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.

11 JAN 27 1968

RAO (ISD, GRD, CD)

DATE FORW:

HOW FORW:

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

CO + 2-24 932 944 115

CONFIDENTIAL

b7D

b7D

b7D

b7D

b1

b1

b1

Files of the Chicago Office do not contain sufficient information to characterize the following organizations and individuals:

Young Socialist Discussion Club

Socialist Discussion Club

UICC Committee to End the War in Viet Nam

Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE)

Congress on Racial Equality (CORE)

"The Brothers"

ROBERT LUCAS

CLAUDIA SMITH

JERRY JANUS

SANDRA BURKE

STEVE BURKE

RICHARD ALBERT BEBAK

MALDONADA VARGAS

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois

January 24, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC), CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968.

On January 15, 1968, an agency which collects security data in the Chicago, Illinois area advised that Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Young Socialist Discussion Club at the UICC would conduct a sit-in and mill-in demonstration on the second floor of the Union Center, UICC, Chicago, Illinois, from 9:00 AM to 12:00 noon on January 16, 1968, in protest of a United States Marine Corps Recruiting Booth which was to be located on the campus on that date.

b7D On [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that approximately 30 persons including representatives of SDS, the Socialist Discussion Club, and Richard Hill, President of the UICC Committee to End the War in Viet Nam appeared at the United States Marine Corps Recruiting Booth located at the Union Center, UICC, Chicago, Illinois, on January 16, 1968. These individuals did not interfere with the operation of the recruitment booth and there were no incidents or arrests. This source advised, however, that a sit-in demonstration was planned for January 17, 1968, for the purpose of blocking the Marine Corps Recruitment Booth.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFIED ON 7-22-80
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 7-22-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC), CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968

b7D [REDACTED] advised on January 17, 1968, that between 12 to 15 demonstrators surrounded and occupied the Marine Corps Recruiting Booth on the UICC, from 10:00 AM to 2:45 PM on January 17, 1968. Source stated that the two Marine Recruiters in the interest of public safety did not man the booth awaiting attempts by university officials to disperse the demonstrators. Direct orders of the school officials to disperse were ignored by the demonstrators and the recruiters were never able to occupy the booth during the day.

b7D [REDACTED] identified Joe Horton, a member of the Chicago area Draft Resisters (CADRE) as one of the leaders of the demonstrators. Robert Lucas, Chairman of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) spoke in the vicinity of the Marine Corps Recruitment Booth in violation of university regulations against speeches without university authorization. Lucas spoke to a group of about 200 persons, extolling black student power.

b7D The Chicago Police Department was at the scene of the demonstration, but would not arrest the demonstrators without a specific complaint from university officials, according to [REDACTED]. No arrests were made since the school officials feared a riot might occur if arrests were made. The students dispersed at approximately 2:45 PM, according to [REDACTED].

b7C On January 18, 1968, [REDACTED] another government agency which collects security data in the Chicago, Illinois area advised that on January 17, 1968, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] both of the United States Marine Corps appeared at the Union Center, UICC, Chicago, at 9:30 AM in order to recruit on the campus. Approximately 11 students, however, had occupied the Marine Recruiting booth an hour before the arrival of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and refused to disperse.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (IUCC), CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968

b7C, D [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]
and [REDACTED] went to a nearby campus office until 1:00 PM
or 1:30 PM when they left the campus without having conducted
any recruiting. In the interim, Dean of Student Affairs
Robert Corley, IUCC, appeared before the demonstrators and read
to them a written statement warning that they were in violation
of university regulations and ordering them to disperse. This
order was ignored by the demonstrators. Thereafter a warning
was made that the names of the demonstrators would be taken and
turned over to a disciplinary committee. When this warning
was ignored IUCC officials requested demonstrators to furnish
their names, which request was refused.

b7D According to [REDACTED] the following individuals
occupied the booth assigned to the Marine Corps:

Claudia Smith
Jerry Janus (Phonetic)
Sandra and Steve Burke
Joe Horton
Carl Finamore
Mio John Villagomez
Stu Smith

b7D Jerry Janus, according to [REDACTED] made a
speech at about 10:15 AM urging the students to gather at a
meeting of the University's Board of Trustees which was being
held on the 5th floor of the building. Janus's plea was not
heeded.

At about 12:00 noon, Claudia Smith, who resides at
5236 South Kenwood, Chicago, Illinois, made a lengthy speech urging
that the university conduct an open forum to discuss the
question of military recruiting on the campus.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (IUCC), CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968

At 12:10 PM, Robert Lucas, Chairman of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) occupied a vacant booth in the vicinity of the Marine Corps recruiting booth and spoke until 2:50 PM extolling the merits of black power. A poster was raised at the booth occupied by Lucas which read: "CORE - Black Student Orientation."

Lucas's activity was in violation of university regulations and when he was ordered to leave at 2:50 PM, he did so. After Lucas's departure the other demonstrators also dispersed.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that Richard Hill, Richard Albert Bebak, 3620 North La Vergne and Jacob Morowitz, President of the IUCC Chapter of SDS, took no part in occupying the Marine Corps recruiting booth but were observed circulating among the students at the demonstration.

b7D On [REDACTED] advised that the Young Socialist Alliance, the IUCC Committee to End the War in Viet Nam and Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) had set up a protest desk at 11:00 AM on January 18, 1968, at the Student Union Center, IUCC protesting Marine Corps recruiting on the campus on January 16 and 17, 1968. This source advised that an altercation occurred during the debate among students resulting in the arrest at 2:15 PM of Jacob Morowitz, also known as Jake Morowitz, President of the SDS Chapter, IUCC. Morowitz was charged with disorderly conduct on a complaint signed by IUCC police and was later released on a \$25.00 bond.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC), CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968

b7D On [REDACTED] advised that during the demonstration of January 18, 1968, the UICC police were attempting to restore order among a group of students and one campus police officer went to draw a can of Mace (a chemical suppressant). At this point Jake Morowitz shouted to newspaper photographer "Get a shot of the one with the Mace" or words of similar effect. Morowitz was then arrested by the Chicago Police Department on a complaint signed by UICC police.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that two altercations took place between two white students and two members of "The Brothers", a Negro student black power group.

According to this source, one incident occurred when a penny was thrown at the United States Flag. An unidentified white student retrieved the coin and threw it in the direction of "The Brothers". It struck Maldonado Vargas, pre-med student and leader of "The Brothers". Fighting ensued and Vargas was forcibly removed by UICC police. During his struggle with UICC police, Vargas bit one officer, then struck his own head on a metal cabinet causing a wound which required four stitches.

After treatment of Vargas, he and "The Brothers" conducted a sit-in on the 27th floor of the Administration Building, UICC during the night and morning of January 18 and 19, 1968. The group had been denied access to the 28th floor where Chancellor Norman Parker's office is located. The group presented demands to Chancellor Parker including severe disciplinary action against four UICC police, punishment of the white student involved in the altercation and abolishment of black hatred and discrimination at UICC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

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DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968

b7D [redacted] advised that a second altercation occurred on January 18, 1968, which involved a member of "The Brothers" and a white student athlete, neither of whom were identified or arrested. Source stated that UICC authorities feared an incident might occur between a group of white student athletes and members of "The Brothers". Source advised that the Chicago Police Department was on the campus in force if needed.

b7D [redacted] advised that "The Brothers" have rejected support by the SDS. SDS was expected to submit its own demands to Chancellor Parker.

b7D On [redacted] advised that "The Brothers" staged demonstrations in support of Maldonado Vargas and the demands they had previously presented to UICC officials throughout the day of January 19, 1968. [redacted] stated that "The Brothers" prevented others from access to elevators and washrooms and appeared in groups in the library, faculty lounge and the cafeteria in an apparent show of strength.

b7D [redacted] stated that "The Brothers" held a closed meeting on the afternoon of January 19, 1968, and decided not to demonstrate further pending a meeting of "The Brothers" with UICC Chancellor Norman Parker on January 22, 1968.

b7D On [redacted] advised that Chancellor Parker had met with representatives of "The Brothers" but source was not aware of the results of that meeting. Source stated that the campus was calm and no demonstrations or disturbances had occurred.

The following information is noted concerning the individuals mentioned previously:

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968

b7D

On [REDACTED] advised that one Joe Horton attended the SDS National Convention held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25 - 30, 1967, listing as his residence the address 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It is noted that the National Office of SDS is located at the above address.

The January 13, 1967 issue of the 'Chicago Daily News' on page 3, carried an article captioned "Draft Protester Balks - Then Fails Physical". The article stated that one Stuart Smith, 21 of 849 West Lill, who said he is an organizer for the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was found physically disqualified for service. According to the article Smith, who said he would refuse to be inducted if found qualified, staged a demonstration earlier in front of the Armed Forces Induction Station, 615 West Van Buren.

b7D

On [REDACTED] advised that Richard Hill was a member of the Socialist Workers Party - Chicago Branch (SWP - CB) and the Young Socialist Alliance - Chicago (YSA-C); and was also a member of the Executive Committee of the YSA - C with the assignment as Financial Director of the YSA - C. On October 19, 1966, source also advised that Hill was a student at the UICC as of October, 1966.

b7D

On [REDACTED] mentioned above, advised that at a YSA-C Executive Committee meeting on April 2, 1967, Carl Finamore who was not in attendance was assigned to anti-war work at the UICC. This source also advised on June 6, 1967, that Finamore attended a YSA - C membership meeting on April 4, 1967, at which time it was announced that Finamore's candidacy period was over and his application for membership was approved.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING ALLEGED BRUTALITY
AGAINST MALDONADO VARGAS, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS BY CAMPUS POLICE, JANUARY 18, 1968

b7D

On [REDACTED] mentioned above
advised that one Mio Villagomez had been dropped as a
candidate for membership in the YSA.

Characterizations of the following organizations
are in the Appendix attached hereto:

Students For a Democratic Society (SDS)

Progressive Labor Party

Socialist Workers Party - Chicago Branch

Young Socialist Alliance - Chicago

"Young Socialist"

Young Socialist Alliance

The following persons were advised of the above
information:

[REDACTED] 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois

[REDACTED] United States Secret Service, Chicago

b7c [REDACTED]
Secretary to United States Attorney Edward V. Manrahan

[REDACTED]
Intelligence Unit, Chicago Police Department

All sources mentioned above and those used to characterize
the organizations hereinafter have all furnished reliable information
in the past.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

1
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in May, 1967, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists, was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of May, 1967, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

—The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE 2/8/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/9/67 - 2/2/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - general		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-SDS	

SECRET

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] dated 11/8/67 at Chicago.
Bureau airtel to Albany dated 12/5/67.

- P* -

LEADS

ALBANY, BOSTON, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, INDIANAPOLIS,
LOS ANGELES, MILWAUKEE, MINNEAPOLIS, NEW YORK, OKLAHOMA CITY,
OMAHA, PHILADELPHIA, SAN ANTONIO, SPRINGFIELD, SAN FRANCISCO,
WASHINGTON FIELD - INFORMATION

Information copies are being furnished above offices
inasmuch as either a SDS regional office is located in their
division or there is considerable SDS activity.

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activities
of SDS nationally in 90 days.

Classified by **5886 4/24/78**
Exempt from GDS, Category **2**

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	ACS, OSI, ONI, IRS
Date Filed	2-13-68
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EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY **2**

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CG 100-40903

- (8) - Bureau (100-439048)(RM) (AMSD)
- 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via courier)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago (Via courier)
- 1 - OSI, Chicago (Via courier)
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- 1 - San Francisco (100-52152)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Springfield (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (Info)(RM)
- 5 - Chicago (100-40903)

CG 100-40903

ADMINISTRATIVE

The Bureau in Bulet of 9/22/65 instructed that two additional copies of this report be submitted for distribution by the Bureau to the Internal Revenue Service. In addition, the Bureau in Buairtel of 4/26/66 instructed that one copy of this report be furnished to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago.

This report has been classified confidential because it contains information furnished by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who are sources of continuing value and the identification of these sources could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S.

Information copies of this report are being furnished to Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston; and NISO and OSI, Chicago, in view of their interest in SDS.

Individuals mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations are not included in Section V were checked through the indices of the Chicago Office and this check was negative or insufficient identifying data was available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

The Bureau is requested to note that information regarding local SDS chapter structure and activities within the Chicago Division was not incorporated in this report. The Chicago Office is presently preparing a report regarding SDS chapters presently in existence within the Chicago Division and this report will reach the Bureau by 3/6/68.

[REDACTED]

All individuals mentioned as national SDS officers are being considered for inclusion on the SI or are on the SI.

- B -

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION1-Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston,
Illinois (Via courier)

Copy to: 1-NISO, Chicago (Via courier)

1-OSI, Chicago (Via courier)

1-INS, Chicago (Via courier)

Report of:

SA [REDACTED] b7C

Date:

February 9, 1968

Office:

CHICAGO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SECRET

Field Office File #:

100-40903

Bureau File #:

100-439048

Title:

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

CLASSIFIED BY 1259

EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

Character:

11-8-79 359/BTS

Classification
4-27-78 GAO/leg

Synopsis:

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) continues to maintain its national offices in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. SDS regional offices set forth. SDS operates a community action organization called JOIN Community Union located at 4533 North Sheridan Road, Chicago; however, in its day-to-day operation uses its original title of Jobs or Income Now (JOIN). The Radical Education Center (REC), the internal education arm of SDS, maintains offices at 630 North Racine, Chicago. Records of the Division of Corporate Records, State of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois, failed to reflect SDS had made any request to register a corporation or holding company under name of New Ideas Publishing Company. Current SDS national officers are CARL DAVIDSON, Inter-Organizational Secretary; ROBERT PARDUN, Internal Education Secretary; MIKE SPIEGEL, National Secretary; STEVE HALLIWELL, Assistant National Secretary; BOB GOTTLIEB, Assistant Inter-Organizational Secretary; JEFF SEGAL, National Draft Resistance Coordinator; and BOB SHOMER, Financial Secretary. Financial problems continued to be experienced by SDS.

SDS, during meeting of National Council (NC) held 12/67, passed resolution calling for a national program of action to protest the draft and the Vietnam war which will be held during period 4/20-30/68. SDS Draft Resistance Program which calls for a program of resistance to imperialism was adopted in resolution form at aforementioned SDS NC meeting. Activities of SDS leaders and members set forth. Communist Party, USA, and/or Socialist Workers Party interest in SDS set forth. Additional background information, where available regarding SDS officers and other individuals mentioned, also set forth. (u)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassificationALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDEXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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CG 100-40903

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The following organizations and publication mentioned in this report which have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 are characterized in the appendix section:

Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights

Fair Play for Cuba Committee-Chicago Chapter

Fair Play for Cuba Committee

May 2 Movement

"National Guardian"

Progressive Labor Party

Socialist Workers Party-Chicago Branch

Students for a Democratic Society

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of Chicago

Young Socialist Alliance-Los Angeles Branch

Young Socialist Alliance

(u)

CG 100-40903

I. ORGANIZATIONAL DATA

A. Location -Offices

1. National

b7D On [REDACTED] source advised that the national office of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is maintained in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED])

b7D

2. Regional

The "New Left Notes" ("NLN"), which is self-described in the masthead as being published weekly by the SDS, in the issue dated January 8, 1968, listed the following regional offices of the SDS:

New York City: 41 Union Square, Room 436
New York City, New York

Niagara Regional Coordinating Committee;
1504 East Genesee Street
Syracuse, New York

Southern California: Post Office Box 85396
Los Angeles, California

New England: 102 Columbia Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Washington, D.C: 1779 Lanier Place N.W.
Washington, D.C. (u)

3. Local

Source advised that the local chapters of the SDS in the Chicago, Illinois, area do not maintain their own offices but that their activities are either coordinated out of the private residences of the respective SDS members or through the SDS national office. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED])

b7D

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4. Miscellaneous

a. Join Community Union, formerly known
as Jobs or Income Now (JOIN)

On [REDACTED] source advised that the SDS continues to maintain a community action organization which operates under the name of the Join Community Union, with offices at 4533 North Sheridan Road, Chicago. Source added that MIKE JAMES and RENNIE DAVIS are the primary leaders of the Join Community Union and that the purpose of this organization is to promote a community action program among the poor, deprived and unemployed individuals in the Chicago area and that, in its day-to-day operation continues to be referred to by its original title of JOIN. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED])

b7D

b. Radical Education Center (REC)

On [REDACTED] source advised that at the SDS National Convention which was held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the latter part of June, 1967, the REC was set up. Source stated that the REC replaces the Radical Education Project (REP) which is now a separate organization from the SDS. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED])

b7D

The "NLN," issue of July 10, 1967, contained an article captioned "The Next Day-NC-Internal Education." This article read in part as follows with respect to the purpose of REC: (u)

"The Radical Education Center (REC) will be the internal education arm of the SDS. It will exist for the use of chapters and teacher-organizers and will be responsible to their needs." (u)

Source advised that the SDS REC is presently located at 630 North Racine, Chicago. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED])

b7D

CG 100-40903

The "NLN," issue of December 4, 1967, on page five, set forth information that VERNON URBAN was the REC Director. (u)

c. New Ideas Publishing Company, Inc.

The "NLN," Volume 2, Number 34, in the issue of October 2, 1967, contained an article captioned "NAC Minutes." This article read in part as follows:

"Corporation. The NAC (National Administrative Committee) voted to approve the establishment of a holding corporation (New Ideas Publishing Company, Inc.) to protect the office and printing equipment of SDS and Liberation Press. This does not entail the incorporation of SDS (an act which would require the approval of the entire membership) and deals only with the expensive equipment in the National Office (NO)." (u)

On January 5, 1968, [redacted] Division of Corporate Records, State of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois, advised SA [redacted] that a check of his records failed to reflect that any request had been made to register a corporation or holding company under the name of New Ideas Publishing Company, Inc. [redacted] further advised that it was unlikely that any permission for incorporation would be granted under that combination, that is New Ideas Publishing Company, Inc., because there was already on record a company with a somewhat similar name. (u)

B. Revised SDS National Constitution

On [redacted] source advised that the national office of SDS has not revised its national constitution to include the constitutional amendments which were adopted at the SDS national convention held during the latter part of June, 1967, at Ann Arbor, Michigan. (u)

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C. Aims and Objectives

On [redacted] source made available a booklet entitled "The Port Huron Statement - Students for a Democratic Society," which source recently obtained at the national offices of SDS. On the back cover of this booklet information was set forth with respect to the aims and objectives of the SDS. This information read in part as follows: (u)

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"SDS is a movement of young people who study and participate in daily struggles for social change. Committed to change in many spheres of society, SDS members, in chapters, projects, and as individuals:

- "(1). Organize the dispossessed in community movements for economic gains.
- "(2). Participate in activity for peace through protest, research, education and community organization.
- "(3). Work for civil rights through direct action, publication and support of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).
- "(4). Inject controversy into a stagnant educational system.
- "(5). Support political insurgents in the fight for a government that will promote social justice.

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D. Membership

The "NLN," Volume 2, Number 25, in the issue dated June 26, 1967, set forth the National Constitution of the SDS. This constitution read in part as follows:

"Section 1. Membership is open to all who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

"Section 2. S.D.S. is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social or political organization.

"Section 3. Dues. The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

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Section 4. Associates. Individuals who do not wish to join the S.D.S., but who share the major concerns of the organization, may become associates, with rights and responsibilities as defined by the national council.

The "NLN," supra, on page 16, contained an article captioned "Membership Report." This article read in part as follows:

"The recorded membership of SDS stands at 6,371. In addition, there are 588 people who subscribe to "NLN" but are not members. Of the 6,371 members, only 875 have paid dues since 1/1/67. The rest seem to think that the only thing they have to do is pay once and then forget it...

"Since last August (1966), 38 chapters have applied for and received recognition. This brings the total number to almost two hundred and fifty." (u)

**National Officers and
Governing Bodies of SDS**

1. SDS National Officers

The "NLN," Volume 3, Number 1, in the issue of January 8, 1968, on page two, in its masthead set forth the following national officers of SDS:

CARL DAVIDSON - Inter-Organizational Secretary
ROBERT PARDUN - Internal Education Secretary
MIKE SPIEGEL - National Secretary

2. Other National SDS Officers

In addition to the above SDS national officers, the "NLN," Volume 2, Number 26, dated July 10, 1967, contained an article captioned "The Next Day --- NC." This article read in part as follows:

Elections

"The NC confirmed the appointments of Steve Halliwell as assistant national secretary and Bob Gottlieb as assistant inter-organizational secretary."

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The "NLN," issue of November 20, 1967, Volume 2, Number 40, on page five, contained an article captioned "Chapter Tax Needed to Pay Convention Debt." This article reflected that BOE SHOMER was the Financial Secretary of SDS.

The "NLN," Volume 2, Number 10, dated March 13, 1967, contained an article captioned "NAC Minutes." In this article it was indicated that JEFF SEGAL was recently hired as the National Draft Resistance Coordinator for the SDS and that SEGAL would work out of the national office of SDS.

On [REDACTED] source advised that JEFF SEGAL continues to be the National Draft Resistance Coordinator for the SDS.

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3. Governing Bodies of the SDS

a. National Council (NC)

The "NLN," Volume 1, Number 42, dated November 11, 1966, contained an article captioned "Constitution." This article read in part as follows:

"Section 2. The national council shall be the major policy-making and program body of the organization. It shall determine policy in the form of resolutions on specific views within the broad orientation of the organization; determine the program priorities and action undertaken by the organization consonant with the orientation and mandates set by the Convention; charter chapters, associated groups and fraternal organizations; and be empowered to suspend chapters, with the right of appeal to the Convention. The NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration of the budget, and organization of fund raising; interviewing and appointment of the national secretary and such other staff as budget allows; appointment of committee chairmen and representatives to other organizations; overseeing the functioning of the administrative committee; drafting an annual report and making arrangements for the Convention.

"Section 3. The national council shall have the power to appoint standing committees to carry on its work between its meetings."

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The "Chicago Daily News," dated September 3, 1966, in an article entitled "Subdued Wind Up - 'New Left' Students End Parley - Iowa," written at Clear Lake, Iowa, stated that during the SDS national convention and council meeting held at Clear Lake, Iowa, the following SDS NC members were elected:

BS — JANE ADAMS, Chicago
LEE D. WEBB, no home town
CARL OGLESBY, Chicago
JEFF SHERO, Austin, Texas
ROBERT SPECK, Austin, Texas
CG — NANCY DANCROFT, Arlington, Virginia
TOM CONDIT, no home town
CAROLYN CRAVEN, Berkeley, California
MICHAEL DAVIS, Los Angeles, California
ROY DAHLBERG, Oakland, California
WILLIAM HARTZOG, Topeka, Kansas
MICHAEL JAMES, Chicago
CV — MARC KLEIMAN, Evanston, Illinois
TERRY ROBBINS, Cleveland
STEVE KINDRED, Mason City, Iowa

SDS NC Members-at-Large

JANE ADAMS, Chicago
NANCY BANCROFT, Arlington, Virginia
TOM CONDIT, Chicago
CAROLYN CRAVEN, Berkeley, California
MIKE DAVIS, Los Angeles, California
ROY DAHLBERG, San Francisco, California
BILL HARTZOG
MIKE JAMES, Chicago
MARK KLEIMAN, Evanston, Illinois
STEVE KINDRED, Mason City, Iowa
University of Chicago, Chicago
TERRY ROBBINS, Cleveland, Ohio
JEFF SHERO, Austin, Texas
BOB SPECK
LEE WEBB

Alternates

— IAN BENENSON, New York, New York
BOB ROSS, Chicago

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____ TOM BELL, Ithaca, New York
JOHN MAHER, MIT and Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts
____ S/ JOHN FUERST, New York, New York

b. National Interim Committee (NIC)

The "NLN," Volume 2, Number 26, dated July 10, 1967, contained an article captioned "Elections." This article stated that the following individuals were elected to the eight at-large positions on the NIC of the SDS:

S/ JEFF SEGAL	S/ JEFF SHERO
CG MIKE JAMES	S/ SUE EANET
CG GREG CALVERT	S/ JOHN FUERST
CG CATHY WILKERSON	CV STEVE HALLIWELL
Alternates: CG JOHN VENEZIALE S/ MARK KLEIMAN	
S/ PAUL SHINOFF HOTHORNE DREIER	

c. National Administrative Committee (NAC)

The "NLN," issue of January 15, 1968, Volume 3, Number 2, on page four contained an article captioned "NAC Minutes." In this article the following NAC members of the SDS were set forth:

SA CAROL NEIMAN	CG KAREN GELLEN
CG JOHN ROSSEN	HANK WILLIAMS Chapter
CG CARL DAVIDSON	EARL SILBAR
CG BOB PARDUN	MIKE SPIEGEL CG
CG BERNIE FARRER	S/ CLARK KISSINGER CG

7. "New Left Notes" - Publication of SDS

The "NLN," Volume 3, Number 1, in the issue of January 8, 1968, in its masthead, stated that the "NLN" is published weekly by SDS, 1808 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, except July and August when publication is bi-weekly. Its co-editors were listed as CAROL NEIMAN and LYN KEMPF.

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II. FINANCES

On [REDACTED] source made available a copy of a letter dated January 2, 1968, which was on the letterhead stationery of SDS and signed by MIKE SPIEGEL, SDS National Secretary. At the bottom of this letter the following information was set forth: "P.S. As usual, your national office is in serious financial straits; your membership would be of aid. Fighting repression on an empty stomach is a drag." (u)

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III. ACTIVITIES, PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF SDS

A. General Activities

1. SDS Leaders and Members

Source advised that the "National Guardian" held a meeting on October 27, 1967, in New York City to celebrate its 19th anniversary. Source stated that among the speakers at this affair was CARL DAVIDSON, a SDS leader from Chicago.

According to source, DAVIDSON in his speech spoke of his travels and activities in connection with draft card burnings. DAVIDSON outlined the following four point radical program:

1. Desanctification of authority.
2. Deobfuscation of liberal rhetoric.
3. Disruption of authority and dismantling of the institution of power.
4. Disengagement from the hierarchy of values, rewards, demands and punishments that this system places upon radicals.

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Source advised that a meeting sponsored by the Michigan State University (MSU) East Lansing, Michigan, SDS chapter was held on October 30, 1967. Among the speakers at this SDS meeting was MIKE SPIEGEL who appeared in place of BOB PARDUN.

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SPIEGEL, who spoke on the topic "The Student and University," stated that: 1) the university has become a research unit for the power structure, 2) that recruiting ground for the power structure has no place in a university, and 3) sexual restrictions should be lifted. He further stressed that many SDS members were being lost after the students left college so efforts should be made to encourage their participation after leaving the campus.

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The "New York Post," a daily newspaper in New York City, November 17, 1967, issue, on page two carried a photograph of four individuals captioned "Bound for North Vietnam." It was stated beneath the photograph that four members of SDS, STEVE HALLIWELL and JEFFREY JONES of New York City, KAREN KOONAN of San Francisco and CATHY WILKERSON of Washington, were boarding a jet plane for Paris at Kennedy Airport and that their eventual destination was North Vietnam, by invitation. (u)

On November 21, 1967, [REDACTED] Air France, Kennedy Airport, advised that the above individuals had departed from New York City on November 16, 1967, 7:00 PM, via Air France Flight 700 for Paris, France. These individuals were scheduled to leave Paris on November 20, 1967, via Air France Flight 180, for Phnompenh, Cambodia. No return reservation was made for them. (u)

The "NLN," issue of December 18, 1967, on page one contained an article captioned "Delegation to Hanoi Returns" which was written by CATHY WILKERSON. This article read in part as follows:

"On Nov. four people set off for Paris with the final destination of Hanoi, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Other groups had previously visited Hanoi, but this was the first "student delegation" to go. Karin Koonan of the Movement, a member of the steering committee for the Oakland Stop the Draft Week; Steve Halliwell, N.Y. SDS; Jeff Jones, N.Y. SDS; and myself were invited by the Federation of Youth of the D.R.V. This group is the umbrella organization for a number of student and youth groups, the two principal ones being the Union of Students and the Committee of Working Youth.

"The D.R.V. Union of Students consists of all students who have completed the regular ten years of education and who have gone on to courses of Superior Education. The Committee of Working Youth consists of young people working in the growing industrial sector of the nation.. Among these youths, however, many are registered for Superior Education correspondence courses. (u)

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"The Youth of the D.R.V. had invited a student delegation from the United States to discuss the experiences of the youth in both countries, especially their experiences as important vanguard forces in building a revolutionary movement. In addition, we expected the youth of the D.R.V. to help us understand more about their lives as youth and students of a country being attacked by American imperialism, in a nation mobilized for armed struggle.

"Unlike most of the previous trips which had been arranged by groups in Hanoi, and which had remained in Hanoi for the duration of their stay, e.g. those invited by the D.R.V. Peace Committee and by the D.R.V. Women's Federation, we were to spend most of our time traveling to a number of different provinces. This was essential for a student delegation since the intensive bombings have forced a total decentralization of the educational system. There are now very few students left in Hanoi. Instead, they have re-established schools in the mountainous regions of the country, or in the plains where the bombing has been less intense.

"We arrived in Cambodia on Wednesday. The only flights to Hanoi are those of the International Control Commission, arranged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements. There is an average of three flights every two weeks. However, due to heavy American bombing, it is not unusual for flights to be cancelled or to be turned back unexpectedly. Although there is a "gentleman's agreement" between the U.S. and the ICC, it is not totally reliable. Only a few weeks before our arrival, American bombers followed an ICC plane into Hanoi, and took advantage of the temporary cessation of anti-aircraft fire, to unload tons of bombs in the suburbs around the airport (u)

"Monday morning, we were informed that we would not be able to take the ICC flight the next morning. The Committee of Working Youth had sent a telegram to Phnom Penh explaining that the bombing had become so heavy that any travel outside Hanoi would be extremely dangerous, especially for those untrained in self-defense against sudden bombing raids. In addition, the surety of regular ICC flights was diminishing under the heavy bombing. We were told that almost all foreign visits had been cancelled, probably until February.

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"Representatives of the D.R.V. explained that in the past, any bombing pause, even if it was to last only a couple of days, had been preceded by an increase in the tonnage of bombs during the weeks before and in between the pauses. Thus, the months of December and January, with a pause at Christmas, New Year's, and Vietnamese New Year's in February, have been the worst months. From all indications, the North Vietnamese had deduced that the same was to be definitely true this year.

"Despite our inability to finally get to North Vietnam, we all felt that the trip was well worth while. During our ten-day stay in Cambodia, we had many long conversations with a number of Vietnamese officials and Cambodians. Phnom Phen is only 40 miles away from Saigon; at night it is possible to see the U.S. bombers and a flare of light as they bomb the Vietnamese countryside. In addition, the culture and climate of Cambodia is very similar to South Vietnam; both are predominantly agricultural nations with similar crops."

The December 8, 1967, edition of the "Record," a daily newspaper published in Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio, contained an article captioned "New Left History," which reported that CARL DAVIDSON, National Secretary of SDS, appeared on the evening of December 2, 1967, in the Horace Mann Room, Antioch College, and spoke on the "History of the New Left." The talk centered around the changes in tactics and ideology that SDS has seen since its beginning.

DAVIDSON stated that in 1964 "SDS had 40 chapters and 2500 to 3000 members and this number began to grow very rapidly since the first major anti-war demonstration in 1965. Most of the new members were young, with little or no political experience.

The beginning of the Black Power Movement in 1966 led to SDS re-evaluating its role. White young people were forced out of the civil rights movement and had to come to grips with the society they had rejected.

"The white radical's struggle for his individual liberation had to become a struggle for social liberation and so became a movement." (u)

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Source advised that a "Tribute to Che Guevara," under the auspices of "The Worker," was held at the Humboldt Park Civic Center, Chicago, Illinois, on December 9, 1967. Source stated that among the speakers at this affair was VIVIAN ROTHSTEIN, who was introduced as the community organizer for SDS.

According to source, ROTHSTEIN spoke of her recent trip to North Vietnam and she developed the following main points:

1. United States bombing is a conscious effort to wipe out all major Vietnamese institutions such as schools, hospitals, etc.
2. To counter the United States offensive, all Vietnamese defense installations are moved daily.
3. The United States is consciously attacking the people of Vietnam to emphasize this point. ROTHSTEIN demonstrated or exhibited a pellet bomb that was reportedly used against the Vietnamese and also a pellet hat that the Vietnamese use to defend themselves against the pellet bombs.

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"The Worker" is an East Coast communist newspaper.

2. SDS National Organization

Source advised that a meeting entitled "The University and the Military," which was sponsored by several organizations including SDS, was held at the University of Chicago, Chicago, on November 10-11, 1967. According to source, the following main points were brought out during the course of this meeting:

1. The federal government controls the universities. They are no longer pursuing education but rather are quickly turning into knowledge factories. We no longer have education but induction. The universities are training schools for industry.

2. The military and the university have joined forces to develop new ways to burn babies. There is no essential distinction between the military and industry... both are making baby burners. The whole orientation of the university is oriented to baby burning. We must get rid of defense contracting, and the grading system which is for the utility of industry in hiring people to help them make baby burners for the military. (u)

3. Protesters are put down for being disfunctional in the society. You could consider the military as an iceberg...you only see a small part of it at one time. Our long-range strategy should be to not only blast the top of the iceberg but to eliminate the part beneath water also. We should question the invasion of the university by industry. We should challenge course structure, grades, etc. We have to think red...we should be of the people, by the people and for the people. We are confronted by an industrial revolution in the university.

4. The university is a lab for development of mid-range management personnel. The next ten years are most important. The university is evolving into a middle management, military planning, industrial use. People are the obstacles to efficiency.

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5. The university is an instrument of national purpose and foreign policy. Our enemy is CIA and IDA. We must raise the question of how does one change the national purpose and use of universities. (Institute for Defense Analysis)

6. The Peace Corps is the most pernicious instrument of American foreign policy. We have been shooting at the wrong targets. Our ultimate aim should be to confront the university as an instrument of the military and against social change. We should study demonstrations and help them to influence a change in our national purpose. Our system of university study is destroying people's minds. We believe that you should make the revolution where you are best if it serves as an assertion of eliteness. Each kick nt the top should have an opening at the bottom. Henceforth, universities will be sanctuaries for draft dodgers and people from the ghetto. (u)

7. We should have a strategy. If you rid the university of complicity in waging this dirty war and make it a sanctuary for draft dodgers and refugees from the ghettos then you will open doors to people from the poor.

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The "NLN," issue of November 27, 1967, on page four, contained an article captioned "The University and the Military: Notes on the Chicago Conference." This article read in part as follows:

"Since September, student-led demonstrations against military research, and corporate and military recruiting on campus, have erupted in almost every major university. These disruptions have dramatically demonstrated the service station nature of the American university, bringing on mass arrests, tear-gas, and police brutality from the seemingly benevolent university administrations. Nonetheless, the demonstrations continue. (u)

As a means of bringing together participants in these actions to take stock and exchange experiences, a conference on 'The University and the Military' was sponsored by the Radical Education Project, SDS, the North American

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Congress on Latin America, and the University Christian Movement at the University of Chicago, Nov. 10-12th.

"Not intended to stimulate a new major program for combatting university involvement with the military, or even to discuss specific actions for the future, the conference drew many SDS chapter members (over 250 attended) to provide information and discuss strategic problems of the university and military issue. Often, in both conference workshops and panels, fundamental substantive issues--civil liberties for recruiters, the relation of independent think tanks to the university, the nature of the modern university--were raised and discussed in depth. Given the helter-skelter nature of the Movement, the mere possibility that these issues were discussed by such a large group of people actively involved in the struggles, suggests the conference served a worthwhile purpose by evaluating the actions of the past few months.

"From the outset, the issue of the university and the military was subsumed under a discussion of the general purpose of the university in the context of American society. By aiming at the absurdities of secret research or the outrageousness of having Dow recruiters on campus, the movement might neglect the struggle against the ordinary, 'non-secret' research daily going on to sustain the existing system. All panelists shared the opinion that the universities were institutions of domination: places where people were inculcated with skills and ethics useful for the performance of modern capitalism.

"For the most part, the panelists were surprisingly in agreement on the thrust of any strategies for change. All rejected the concept common to most academics that the university should remain the 'oasis' of the intellectual and cultural tradition of Western civilization. This view, associated with a recent article in the Nation by Gabriel Kolko, was considered elitist for it created an artificial distinction between the university and the real world, and contributed to the type of snobbery and mistrust for the common man so pervasive even among the most radical university professors today. If the task is building a movement, the university cannot stand apart as a refuge. (u)

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"Also rejected was the technocratic alternative articulated primarily by the new 'action-intellectuals,' who see the university functioning to adjust or smooth over the sore spots in the society in order that stability be preserved. Growing out of the pragmatist school of philosophy, the technocrat assumes that all knowledge must be relevant, but rarely questions in whose interest it will be used. Thus, counter-insurgency research to deal with ghetto unrest is easily accepted by the good liberal academic who sees his research 'helping' the black person to a better life within the present society. ...

"Throughout the conference, one important drawback in the discussions was the lack of hard empirical information to document many of the generalizations. Continually, theories were spun-off with little apparent factual underpinning. Most of the panelists were guilty of this, and perhaps the forcefulness of their arguments was lost.

"The lack of concrete information had an important pay-off when programs were discussed. Statements such as 'social science research only aids the government's ability to manipulate people,' (of course true on one level, but also meaningless at that level) were taken as a matter of faith, without any suggestion of what could be done about it. For an effective program against social science research, political criteria must be developed which isolate particularly obnoxious projects and who benefits from them, and then, how to attack them.

"Unfortunately, other discussions fared no better. Although many interesting anecdotes were exchanged by activists, the panelists proceeded to list actions but with little discussion of their mistakes or how their experiences were relevant to the struggles of others. Perhaps more disturbing was the lack of long term strategic programs in any of the campus struggles discussed, although we are beginning to see the anti-war struggle in terms of building an anti-imperialist movement rather than witnessing against an immoral war.

"Unfortunately, these weaknesses of the conference--lack of specific information, and the inability to articulate strategy--reflect the Movement more than the conference organization. We still have a long way to go before capably dealing with the university and military issue. (u)

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"The four-hour panel on strategy was the highlight of the conference. Essentially, the issue discussed was civil liberties: whether demonstrators were justified in impeding the rights of individual recruiters, or the students who wished to be recruited, and more importantly, whether such tactics wouldn't serve to isolate anti-war activists from other students. Many radicals argue that civil liberties issues are merely bourgeois conventions that must be shattered by a revolutionary movement. Although Carl Davidson advanced this position, he was refuted by some SDS chapter people, particularly from Chicago, Michigan, and Columbia. It was generally agreed that to advocate the denial of civil liberties of recruiters, potential recruiters and research required that the issue be morally clear and the campus of sufficient political consciousness that the chapter will not be isolated from the students and susceptible to the counter-pressure, perhaps expulsion from the campus.

"The Sunday panel was exciting for it involved sustained discussion from the floor. Since no one had the answers, during these interchanges new strategic dimensions were added and various positions clearly delineated. Given the shoddy nature of the conference planning, seemingly endemic to the new left, it was fortunate the conference ended so well.

"Results? A hefty set of working papers was distributed, and many delegates came away with extensive notes from the strategy workshops and the 'how to research your university military involvement' sessions. A workshop discussing John McDermott's proposal for a radical faculty organization was well attended, and from the discussions, it appears likely that such an organization will be established in the near future. Most important of all however, real issues were discussed by participants. Clearly, if the movement is to grow, we must remain critical of our efforts and continually evaluate them. It is necessary to go beyond rhetoric and perhaps this conference helped the process along."

Source advised that at the New York Regional Strategic Planning Committee of the SDS held at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, on November 17-18, 1967, a discussion was held on Cuba. During the course of this discussion, it was stated that anyone who wants to travel to Cuba should contact CARL DAVIDSON, National Secretary SDS. (u)

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The "NLN," issue of October 9, 1967, on page three contained an article captioned "Cubans Invite SDS to Anniversary Celebration." This article, which was written by CARL DAVIDSON, Inter-Organizational Secretary, read in part as follows:

"The Cuban government has extended an invitation to SDS to send 10 to 20 people to Cuba from December 21 to January 10, the anniversary of the revolution. The trip is scheduled to include a tour of the island, meetings with various government officials, and attendance at anniversary celebrations. A resolution of the National Council mandated the NIC to select people to attend, leaving it to the NIC to decide what process and criteria would be used.

"At the NIC meeting following the NC, it was decided that not only should chapter members be encouraged to apply, but also that part of the process of selection should take place at the local level. The result was a decision that local chapters should elect their applicant and that the NIC should select a minimum of one-half of the delegation from this pool of elected chapter people. This will permit the NIC to have a large number of people who are active at the local level to choose from, rather than selecting only from those people known to the NIC members.

"Those who are elected applicants will have to raise their own transportation costs--and hopefully chapters will be willing to aid with expenses if they have taken part in choosing the delegate...

"The rest of the delegation will be made up of those selected by the NIC from regional travellers and staff, people active in movement newspapers or community projects, national officers, etc....

"Via Che! Viva la Revolucion! Venceremos!"

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The "NLN," issue of November 20, 1967, on page five, contained an article captioned "Selections Made for Cuba Trip," which was written by JEFF SHERO, National Interim Committee-New York. This article read as follows:

"Choosing between human beings, judging friends, is a particularly difficult and unwanted task. In selecting people for the Cuba trip the primary criteria applied by the NIC was how much others in the movement would benefit from a particular person's experiences and political insights. We looked toward choosing people who had recently been active in their own locales, and who would continue doing speaking and writing in their areas upon their return. The criteria of geographical distribution and importance to the person's political development were also considered.

"The NIC was mandated by the national council to choose at least half of the members of the trip from chapters. Because nominations came from only twelve chapters, the selection was weighted against those older, more well-known SDS members who are regional office members, campus travellers, etc. Many strong activists in the non-campus group were not selected because there were approximately 10 slots and thirty applications.

"The current plans are to send Carl Davidson to Cuba to the Third World Intellectual's Conference in early January as an SDS observer and to finalize arrangements for the two-week tour. The NIC will also select one other person, along with Davidson, to attend the Conference, although Carl will be the only official observer.

"The tour itself will take place in the early part of February. The SDS members will journey to Cuba via Mexico City if State Department travel permits can be obtained, or through Prague if they can't. Because the cost to each individual will be about \$500 if the journey must be made through Prague, and because the trip will coincide with many university's exam periods, a prioritized list of ten alternates were also chosen. One of the eleven national officers will participate in the trip as a leader and coordinator of the tour.

"The names of the people selected, as well as the alternates, will be published in New Left Notes after they have been notified."

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The "NLN," issue of December 4, 1967, on page one, contained an article captioned "SDS Joins Suit Against Hershey." This article read in part as follows:

"On Oct. 26, General Hershey of SS (Selective Service) fame stated in his infamous letter to draft boards '...deferments are given only when they serve the national interest. It is obvious that any action that violates the military Selective Service Act or the regulations or the related processes cannot be in the national interest. It follows that those who violate them should be denied deferment in the national interest. It also follows that illegal activity which interferes with recruiting or causes refusal of duty in the military or naval forces could not by any stretch of the imagination be construed as being in support of the national interest...'

"The first major national attempt at the political repression of the New Left had begun. On Monday, SDS and a broad spectrum of liberal student organizations filed suit against General Hershey, suing to enjoin him from enforcement of his statement.

"Given the rather unique style of SDS and its general aversion to becoming involved in any political activity which is defined by the liberal establishment, the decision of the National Interim Committee to enter a legal suit against anyone might seem contradictory...

"In general, that New Left sense of tactics has been sound. Why then did the NIC decide to become engaged in a court battle?

"First, it is essential to understand that General Hershey's threat is not an isolated case of local harassment but rather an all-out attempt at the national level to use a powerfully organized system of coercion to destroy the New Left. As such, it constitutes the first systematic attempt at the political suppression of our organization and the suppression of that broad range of disruptive activities in which we have become engaged. In the face of repressive power, the last thing to do is to back down--particularly if the form of repression leaves the enemy totally vulnerable. (u)

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"Secondly, in the light of our recurring paranoia about the inevitability of the 'repression,' we have been offered a unique opportunity to fight repression on the best grounds available: openly, publicly, nationally. By entering a suit against Hershey, we engage in a political offensive. Furthermore, the real beauty of the 'SDS et al versus General Hershey' case is that we cannot possibly lose. Hershey's arguments are such a clear violation of the most clearly guaranteed civil and political freedoms that either the rulers of America must back down or they must abrogate bourgeois civil liberties and resort to open fascism in order to control political opposition. Somehow we had all assumed that the New Left would be picked off--one by one--that we would be destroyed as isolated individuals or in small defenseless groups. General Hershey has offered the opportunity to break out of our isolation and to build the kind of public legal barriers against repression which provide the kind of intermediary buffers necessary to sustain our political work in a non-revolutionary situation."

The "NLN," issue of December 11, 1967, Volume 2, number 44, on page one, contained an article captioned "The December National Council and Education Conference, Bloomington Ind. Beginning Dec. 27." This article read in part as follows:

"SDS is developing within the context of a growing anti-imperialist movement. The beginnings of a new phase in that movement have been shown in Oakland, Washington, Madison, Brooklyn, and campuses throughout the country where Dow, the military, and the CIA are recruiting. The direction of a new program is in the air. But demonstrations of obstruction and/or exposure of political targets require skill in political education and organizational tactics. It requires also a critical understanding of the political direction of a program, and some planning for the next six months. We have tried to plan the NC and the Education Conference around those needs.

"The direction of a new program has been set by the events of the last several months. We have not yet set the political context within which the actions can be viewed and expanded, however. At the Education Conference and NC at least one concrete program for the spring will be presented.

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There should be in-depth discussion of that, and alternatives should be presented. What has been missing from our undirected action is national and regional coordination, and response and initiative aid from the national organization. That can only be done correctly if a good participation by the membership and strong mandates come out of the NC.

"Because of the urgency pressed upon SDS chapters everywhere to act effectively within the context of the new direction of obstruction and exposure (i.e., 'resistance'), the Education Conference will focus on what we have learned through the fall, in terms of both skills and political directions, and how to use that knowledge for future action.

"Of course, papers, workshop suggestions, resolutions, program, etc. are joyously welcomed so that we all may have a clearer conception of what will be most useful to everybody. Such papers, etc. should be in the NO (National Office) by December 20, so that we can plan for their most careful consideration at the Conference and NC."

Source advised that a National Council (NC) meeting of the SDS was held in the Indiana Memorial Union, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana (IU) on December 27-31, 1967, with approximately 200 persons attending.

According to source, workshops were held on December 27-29, 1967, with joint evening sessions each day. A resolution workshop was held on the morning of December 30, 1967, and the plenary sessions of the NC were held on the afternoon and evening of December 30-31, 1967.

Among the topics discussed at the work shops were:

1. High school program
2. Southern caucus
3. Coalitions, convention demonstration and proposed youth festival
4. National program
5. Summer organizing
6. Draft Resistance
7. News collection - radical press

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8. National coordinator for liaison with revolutionary and liberation movements and organizations
9. Women's liberation
10. Liberation - oppression - racism
11. Repression of the movement
12. Recruitment and education
13. Dropout counseling
14. Internal education
15. Participatory democracy, collective leadership and political responsibility

Among the resolutions passed and adopted by the plenary session were:

1. The High School Program - Distribution of literature concerning the high school struggle to be printed in January, 1968; that regional centers for distribution and organization be created in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago; that a newsletter be written and coordinated out of a central office; appointment of BRUCE FOHLMAN as Chicago and Midwest coordinator; that JUDY BEREZIN, BETIL REISIN and JEFF JONES coordinate the East Coast and New York; that JIM FITE be designated as West Coast coordinator out of a central office in Los Angeles; that JEFF SEGAL and BILL WATSON work in the Bay Area; that they reject national programs but encourage coordinated action on the local level.

2. Southern caucus - that the National Office (NO) appoint a southern born and southern raised agitator in the deep South; that this person organize a Southern Regional Planning Conference in the South and the NO give financial support; that current literature of the SDS is useless in the south and literature and research should be written specifically oriented to southern problems and programs; that a draft of a new manifesto to update the Port Huron statement be distributed to chapters before the spring program; that any program for spring and summer of the NC attempt to compliment and not damage the radicals.

3. Coalitions, Convention Demonstration and Proposed Youth Festival - The anti-war movement has grown in scope. Given the collapse of liberal groups such as the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and National Conference for New Politics (NCNP), SDS recognizes the

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importance of entering coalitions to support an increased militance within the anti-war movement; that the NC adopt the following program:

- I. a) Member of the NC be mandated as a delegate to attend meetings of the National Mobilization Committee or whatever coalition is ultimately responsible for the call to demonstrations at the Democratic Party National Convention;
b) That this person report to each NC meeting;
c) That he should be held accountable to the instructions of the NC in questions relating to the coalition and SDS' role in it;
d) That this person report once a month in "NLN" on the status of the coalition;
e) That further evaluations take place at the spring NC and the summer convention.
- II. a) That SDS send a delegate to the preliminary meeting on the Youth Festival planned for the week immediately preceding the Democratic Convention in or around Chicago;
b) That the same conditions be applied to that representative as applied to the convention representative.
- III. That SDS suggest through "NLN" and regional and local meetings planning community based work for the summer that the plans for the convention and the Youth Festival be considered in their project preparation and be included in same if ratified by the convention or the summer NC.
4. National Program - That student issues should be raised in a way which shows that the form of our education in the university is related to its function of channelling manpower into the corporate structure of society; that SDS...does not attack Dow simply because it recruits on campus but use Dow to expose the university's function as a training ground for the repressive institutions of American society; that SDS choose issues which demonstrate the links between the immediate needs and anti-imperialism...and form links with constituents. Issues should be chosen which identify a common

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source of oppression; a period of action to extend over a ten-day period, April 20-30, 1968, to allow chapters to carry out a schedule of educational programs, joint actions and demonstrations aimed at various institutions related to the issues. The name of this action will be decided later at spring NC. Several names discussed but one most generally liked was "The Days to Shake the Empire." Local and regional chapters should choose actions for the national program that come out of their previous draft resistance program. NO to furnish material needed.

5. Summer Organizing - "SDS recognizes that only a broad-based movement can get the United States out of Vietnam and defeat U.S. imperialism." SDS should recruit students to work with the National Community Union (JOIN) as well as other established projects; that SDS should encourage students to take summer jobs in factories (work-in) with the aim of getting experience in building personal and political ties with workers. SDS should also support strikes, rank and file insurgencies, and unionizing efforts among workers. SDS chapters should begin organizing against the war and the draft in universities and high schools this spring with a view to expanding anti-draft projects into the community during the summer. These summer projects employing full-time staffs should continue as part of the fall chapter program of working in communities surrounding the universities. NO to assist, coordinate and furnish material.

6. Draft Resistance - A major SDS draft program beginning this spring is now feasible and imperative. The goal of the SDS draft program is to further attacks of the resistance struggle against imperialism. A national program designed to reach potential inductees should be organized by the SDS, coordinated by the NO and planned as a programmatic alternative to the liberal McCarthy campaign. In high schools and colleges SDS should recruit anti-draft cadre before apolitical summer commitments are made by students. The NO regional offices and local draft resistance unions should plan training sessions where possible, should print advance publicity and anti-draft literature for the program and should insure the presence of provisional leadership in all "focci" at the beginning of the summer. Spring publicity in the schools should be aimed toward non SDS people to draw (u)

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them into action. Past forms of work should continue both in the schools and in the community, according to local needs and conditions. Draft resistance counseling should be expanded and draft resisters aided. Demonstrations, attacks on university complicity, and disruption of induction should be employed when they aid grassroots organizing. Those who want to enter the military for radical organizing inside, and those already in the service who refuse to fight should receive support through financial and legal aid, where possible, publicity assistance, and delegations to court trials or demonstrations when appropriate. (u)

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According to a news article in the January 4, 1968, issue of the "Indiana Daily Student," DAN KAPLAN, president of the IU-SDS chapter, said the SDS is split internally on the following issues:

1. Whether the organization should aim toward developing a society of socialism or anarchism;
2. Whether it should follow a policy of draft resistance or begin a policy of aggression toward the draft;
3. Whether the SDS should accept the ideas of the SDS chapters of the South concerning what the southern SDS members call "Yankee imperialism," and,
4. Whether the individual SDS member can trust the SDS national officers.

The "NLN" issue of January 8, 1968, on page one, contained the following captioned article "National Secretary's Report-Successes and Failures of the NC," written by MIKE SPIEGEL, National Secretary. This article read in part as follows:

Unfortunately, the December National Council missed a golden opportunity to engage in a meaningful debate on the political development of SDS in relation to its organizational responsibilities. The Sunday afternoon plenary session on the four proposals for a Spring Program failed to develop substantive political arguments about the (u)

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real issues and left everyone frustrated, no one particularly enlightened about the real issues.

"There were many reasons why that debate did not materialize. In the first place, the original Davidson-Calvert article (NLN, Dec. 11, 'Ten Days to Shake the Empire') on national program failed to deal with either the question of the analytical background or the programmatic details of the proposal. The article was concerned mainly with the question of SDS as a national organization faced with national political responsibilities necessitating national organizational response. The major defect of this approach is that it is comprehensible only to that minority of SDS members who work at the national level and are in daily contact with the national demands. Those demands and the resultant perspective are alien to the political experience of the majority of members working at the chapter level.

"It was this dichotomy between national and chapter perspective which produced the mistrust and charges of manipulation which ran rampant through NC discussions. Chapter delegates saw the Spring Program proposal as an attempt by the National Interim Committee and the National Office staff to shove a program down the throats of the membership in order to reinforce their position in the organization. National officers and staff responded with bitter defensiveness at what they considered to be the narrow perspective of the delegates. This quarterly meeting, which should be an opportunity for the SDS organizers working at a variety of levels in the country to show their concerns and their perspectives, only broke through to common concerns intermittently and unsatisfactorily. National leadership failed to get their viewpoint across while chapter delegates remained uncertain about the motivation of their officers and service staff.

"This problem is not new to SDS. But, it has appeared in a new form. In the past, there was a real division between a national leadership with liberal politics and a membership with little sense of politics but with deeply radical sensitivities. Now there is a broad consensus on the radical perspective at all levels in the organization. What exists is a new contradiction between people of the same sensitivities: that contradiction concerns the nature of (u)

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political work, the role of a political organization, and the role of political leadership...

"Not all was bleakness and despair, despite very real problems of communication. After the smoke had cleared, SDS had passed a major national anti-war action for the Spring, had dealt with repression and defense and a new anti-draft program, had defined a new political alliance with the National Community Union, and had decided for the first time in its history to participate actively in the anti-war coalition represented by the National Mobilization Committee. In addition, its National Office staff and National Officers had made a serious if sometimes bungled effort to meet the demands of collective leadership by representing a set of priorities for the organization. On the balance sheet, that makes for one of the most important National Council meetings in the history of the organization.

"Hopefully, the frustrations of the gathering will not inhibit the further development of the political debates which did not occur at Bloomington and which should be pursued in the pages of New Left Notes."

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**B. Proposed SDS Programs and Policies
As Set Forth in Writings of SDS Leaders**

The "NLN," issue of December 4, 1967, on page one, contained an article entitled "The International Days of Resistance or 10 Days To Shake the Empire." This article, which was written by CARL DAVIDSON and GREG CALVERT, read in part as follows:

"The discussion of the National Mobilization Committee (NMC) during the NIC meeting was, in many ways, a microcosm and repetition of the debate going on within the SDS membership for the last two years. However, there were significant differences. Most of us felt a new responsibility for SDS to respond creatively and constructively to a growing anti-war movement which had reached a new level of development.

"In the past, national SDS stood apart from the wheelings and dealings of the various mobilization committees. Somehow, we felt the tactic of big demonstrations inadequate; we talked about 'organizing to stop the seventh war from now.' We separated ourselves from the anti-war marches by insisting on a program of on-going multi-issue, local organizing. Our rhetoric called for the development of permanent radical constituencies with a capacity for long-term resistance, rather than the broadening of an anti-war constituency committed mainly to protest activities.

Our program was never real. To be sure there was JOIN, a community union of poor whites in Chicago, or a union of hospital workers in Boston. But projects of this sort: were exceptions, the work of a dedicated few. The mass of SDS members on the local level, as well as the younger students just entering the movement, were mainly involved in the anti-war programs emanating from the mobilization committees. Of course, SDS politics had an effect on the mobilizations. The marches were larger and more militant due to the participation of our local membership. The draft became a major issue at our insistence. And the themes of black liberation and the powerlessness of the poor were woven into the movement rhetoric partially as a result of our pressure.

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"Nevertheless, we made several serious political mistakes. First, we assumed that since we had tired of marches and protests, then everyone else had grown weary of these tactics as well. We failed to grasp the importance for others to go through the experience of the mass protest actions of our political past. Secondly, we failed in offering a counter-program capable of involving a mass student movement. Our organizing projects were geared mainly toward a politically sophisticated and highly committed minority of the radical student movement.

"The time has come for SDS to assume a leadership position within the anti-war movement. It is the political responsibility of the organization to develop a coherent program of interrelated activities at the local and regional level which will be accompanied by a major propaganda effort at the national level. The failure of SDS to assume this responsibility would be a serious retreat on several fronts.

"1) Political leadership. SDS must take responsibility for making its radical anti-imperialist perspective clear to the nation. We must attempt to demonstrate to as many Americans as possible, both inside and outside the anti-war movement, that the perspective of the New Left offers the only real hope for the country. The present imperialist crisis has resulted in tremendous economic, social, and political problems for ordinary American people. We must make known to the American public the difference in solutions offered to those problems by liberal analysis and dissent, on the one hand; and a radical analysis and resistance, on the other hand.

"2) Propaganda. Related to our other mistakes has been our failure to develop an effective propaganda apparatus or the dissemination of our ideas. Much of the SDS experience with the establishment press has led to our disillusionment of getting our perspective across through any of the public media. Since 'the bourgeois press lies,' SDSers have preferred to ignore its existence. The result has been a persistent failure to make clear the politics of our options which are constantly reported in the press.

"3) Communications. Along with the weakness of our public propaganda effort has gone the inadequacy of communication within SDS. It is a sad fact that we are forced to read

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the New York Times to learn about the activities of our local chapters. We badly need a radical news service to link our organizers and information sources and coordinate their work with the work of those newspapers which share our perspective (New Left Notes, The National Guardian, The Movement, etc.). Liberation News Service, which has made a beginning in this direction, has been inadequate to the present needs of the movement.

"4). Coalitions. SDS must develop a positive, although critical, view toward relating to other groups or coalitions within the anti-war movement. To continue our previous position of separating ourselves from other anti-war forces, without advocating an independent program of our own, would be an indulgence in a sectarianism which neither we nor the movement could afford. This does not mean we should submerge political differences. On the contrary, SDS should have enough confidence in its power and politics to enter into relationships with other groups for the purpose of winning people over to our perspectives, strategies, and tactics. When persuasion fails within certain groups, we should make further efforts within those coalitions to co-opt, neutralize, or contain their politics under the hegemony of our own perspective. However, before we can engage in this kind of political work, it is imperative that we develop a clear, independent program and the apparatus needed to make that program operational.

"PROGRAM"

"In light of these problems and with a view to the necessity of meeting these new demands placed on SDS, we propose that the National Council adopt the following program for the spring of 1968.

"SDS will initiate a call for a ten-day program of actions in resistance to the war in Vietnam centering on the period of April 10-20. The action will be subsumed under the title, 'Ten Days to Shake the Empire' and/or 'The International Weeks of Resistance.' A variety of targets for direct action on and off the campus, as well as the tactics for dealing with them will be chosen, not only for their moral symbolism, but mainly for their effectiveness in developing a more sophisticated political consciousness regarding the

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operations of American imperialism at home and abroad. Where possible and appropriate, financial and corporate industrial targets should be attacked, rather than a single aspect of imperialist repressiveness such as the Selective Service System. This is essential if we are to develop a focus on the economic aspects of corporate capitalist imperialism. The cooperation of NACLA and other radical research groups should be solicited to help pinpoint these targets.

"The international aspects of the program should be developed 1) through coordinated speaking tours by those who will have traveled to North Vietnam and Cuba, and 2) through encouraging anti-imperialist youth groups abroad (e.g. German SDS, French UNEF, Japanese Zengakuren, etc.) to plan direct action in their own countries to coincide with ours.

"The National Office will assume responsibility for the coordination of the program and the development of an effective propaganda campaign stressing the anti-imperialist perspective of the program and the necessity for building a radical grass-roots resistance in America.

"Finally, National SDS will attempt to persuade other organizations, such as the National Mobilization Committee, to adopt, endorse, or participate in all or certain parts of SDS' program. In dealing with other groups, we must keep in mind the importance of 1) the political independence of our program and all that goes with it, and 2) the importance of developing a variety of secondary programs for those less radical groups and sectors of the anti-war movement. At this point, when tremendous efforts are being made to divide the anti-war movement along 'responsible' and 'irresponsible' lines in the eyes of the American public, SDS should make every effort, short of watering down its own radicalism, to enable those who will be involved in moderate liberal protest activity to identify themselves within the overall scope of our program.

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"IMPLEMENTATION"

"In order to render the actions of April 10-20 as effective as possible and to strengthen our communications and propaganda apparatus on a long-term basis, the National Office, under the supervision of the National Interim Committee, and within whatever guidelines are established by the National Council, should proceed to:

✓ "1) establish a Radical Press Service which would provide for the coordination and exchange of information sources and articles between New Left Notes, The Movement, The National Guardian, Liberation News Service, and other publications within or sympathetic to the movement.

✓ "2) publish a news monthly designed to propagandize our program and analysis to the largest possible audience.

✓ "3) send travelers out to coordinate information and encourage participation in the program."

The "NLN," issue of December 18, 1967, on page two contained an article captioned "An Introduction to the Student Strike Debate," which was written by CARL DAVIDSON, Inter-Organization Secretary, SDS. This article read in part as follows:

✓ "Prior to the last few years, the American student movement has not been noted for its radicalism or its militancy. With few exceptions, our history lacks the rich experience of our brothers and sisters in European and Latin American universities. As a result, we have few lessons to draw from in evaluating the pros and cons of student strikes. It is difficult to give historical substance to a debate around the program of a national student strike against the war in Vietnam. (U)

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"The strike program was first initiated by Bettina Aptheker in the early fall of 1966. Bettina's plan called for a national, broad based student action during two days in the spring of 1967, when students across the country would boycott classes in protest to the Vietnam war. Furthermore, depending on local circumstances, students would expose and protest their school's institutional complicity with the war, due to the existence of military training and research on the campus. SDS and others in the radical student movement argued strongly against Bettina's program.

"Another argument made against the strike at that time objected to the national dimension to the program, rather than to the tactical question of a strike. National single issue protest focused on supposedly harmed multi-issue local organizing efforts. Since local areas were 'unevenly developed' and growing at different rates around a variety of issues, each with their own dynamic, a national action was seen as impeding or thwarting the viability of local movements. Even if this were true, it should be seen that this is an argument against any national program, and does not address itself to the particular question of a strike. However, I think the experience of the last year has taught us that national programs, if well conceived, rarely have the effects attributed to them above. Even if they did, a strong argument could be made at this point for 'evening out' and consolidating our unevenly developed movement. (u)

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"Bettina handed the argument that the strike was only another national protest demonstration by pointing out that the strike would engage the issue of university complicity on local campuses as well as having a national demand of ending the war. Some people objected, asserting the senselessness of a national strike over local demands. However, this criticism failed in understanding the nature of those 'local' demands. It is true that any given occurrence of CIA contracts on a particular campus is a local problem. However, the CIA, as well as most other military and para military institutions operating within our universities are national institutions having national and international consequences resulting from their local work. Added up, local issues and targets of this source are obviously of national importance.

"Our previous objections to a National Student Strike no longer seem adequate to the current situation. If we are to oppose the program, we must find different grounds for doing so. The current proposals seem to have all the qualifications that would lead us to adopting the strike as a national program. The objection still might be raised that the dynamic of a national strike against the war would quickly develop, as the target date(s) grew nearer, into a symbolic protest action, rather than a struggle for and against power around concrete demands. There is a good deal of validity to this argument. Even if this would be the outcome, however, why not have a symbolic strike? Especially since this would be the exact nature of a variety of foreign

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student strikes that would probably take place in solidarity with whatever action we might take. In the absence of an alternative program for mass student action, a symbolic protest seems justified, if not desirable. Furthermore, the mere existence of the radical student movement is impressive testimony as to the effectiveness of past symbolic protest activities...

"From this discussion, several points seem to emerge:

"1) Some sort of militant student anti-war program is needed for the spring. Contingency plans for non symbolic strikes to oppose the possible repression of those actions should be made.

"2) National SDS itself should not initiate a symbolic strike. Our resources should be directed to organizing the offensive actions for that period.

"3) If the SMC (Student Mobilization Committee) should decide a symbolic strike, we should not oppose it, but try to integrate it into our program. We should argue against the symbolic strike and for an alternative program at the SMC January Conference. If they call a strike anyway, we should nominally support it and attempt to influence its direction and content. For instance, a one or two day symbolic strike might be a good way to begin the program for an International Weeks of Resistance."

The "NLN," issue of December 18, 1967, on page one contained an article captioned "Participatory Democracy, Collective Leadership and Political Responsibility," which was written by GREG CALVERT. This article read in part as follows:

"The rapid growth in development and the sudden turn towards the new militancy in the student movement face SDS with new demands and new organizational responsibilities which must be met if the New Left is to develop as a mature radical political force in America. On all levels--nationally, regionally, and locally--our organizational structure and style are proving inadequate to cope with the strains which

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the new upsurge of activity and the new political seriousness have produced. Old methods of work which once were responsible for the vitality of the organization are now proving inadequate to the task of building both the organization and the movement. Unless these internal contradictions are resolved in an intelligent and effective fashion in the new few months, SDS will be unable to provide an effective organizational instrumentality for the radical movement.

"The primary contradiction in SDS involves the conflict between the notion of participatory democracy as a vision of the good society and its ineffectiveness as a style and structure for serious radical work.

"No one could deny the importance of the rhetoric of participatory democracy as embodied in the Port Huron Statement. That rhetoric provided a basis for the criticism of both social democratic and liberal reformism at home and bureaucratic socialism a la Soviet Revisionism abroad. Furthermore, it spoke to the alienation of Americans from all the major--i.e. top-down bureaucratic-corporatist--institutions, which control their lives and channel their energies. Finally, it identified their powerlessness in the face of the overwhelming power of America's corporate-military elite and pinpointed the political criterion of control, individual and collective, as the basic goal of a radical movement.

"In addition to its analytic and rhetorical function, participatory democracy as an organizational style appealed to the deep anti-authoritarianism of the new generation in addition to offering them the immediate concretization of the values of openness, honesty, and community in human relationships which they so desperately desire. Born and raised in a society of almost total manipulation, they responded enthusiastically to the possibility of actually being able to 'make the decisions affecting their lives' in an honest political community of equals. It was from this style of operation, rather than from analysis or ideological commitment, that the 'utopian' and 'anarchist' strains in SDS developed.

"It is important to understand that the popularity of the concept and style of participatory democracy are not 'accidental.' SDS as a movement embodying certain specific values is not the product of some utopian scheme or of anarchist

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romanticism... SDS as a movement is a specific historical response to a specific set of historical circumstances and contradictions which have emerged within new-capitalist society in the last decade. Those pretended Marxists who refuse to deal with the New Left in historical terms reveal the bankruptcy of their analysis. It should be the peculiarity of Marxists in viewpoint and style to be able to understand themselves both as the subjects and the objects of history: to see their acts and their insights as both the products of what is happening in the society at large and as a decision to act upon that objective reality.

"The New Left and SDS notion of participatory democracy are the response to the fact that capitalism is living on borrowed time. Since the Second World War, American capitalism has not only extended its control over the rest of the capitalist world and over the Third World, it has developed a technology and productive capacity which contain, through the possibility of automation, the potentiality for the rapid achievement of a post-scarcity society. Capitalism, because of its production for profit and its need to dominate both the human and material resources of the world for present and future expansion, is unable to realize this immense potential. Thus the contradiction emerges that young Americans are growing up in a society which has the potential for eliminating alienated labor and the mechanisms of control and repression associated with exploitive class society. And yet, they encounter a system which becomes increasingly repressive and brutal in order to maintain domination and exploitation both at home and abroad. They want the elimination of repressive institutions and they want it now.

"Organizational seriousness will not be sufficient to deal with the political responsibilities of SDS. A revolutionary organization has two basic duties: 1) It must develop the most serious analysis possible of the society in which it finds itself, and 2) it must discipline itself to reach those elements in the society which can form the base for a mass movement. To do the second without doing the first is to run the risk of 'mindless activism'.

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"SDS has emerged as the leader of the New Left without having developed a sufficient analysis of American corporate capitalism and without clearly articulating its historical alternative. The Port Huron Statement has been transcended in our experience: it is high time that it was replaced by a new document which would correspond to the new understanding which we have developed.

"Our failure to develop analysis is, like so much else, a reaction to the sterile dogmatism of the Old Left which thought it sufficient to talk about economic oppression, the industrial working class, and the inevitable collapse of capitalism. Neither the rhetoric nor the analysis of the 1930's can meet the needs of the New Left.

"We have made a beginning by analyzing the role of students and the multiversity in the transformation of the work force to meet the needs of new-capitalism's new technology. We have begun to investigate the potentiality of a post-scarcity economy, but have failed to investigate the relation of automation to the present character of both working-class and ghetto struggles. Only the development of such analysis will permit us to link our struggles to those of other elements in the society and to create the mass movement which can transform America."

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IV. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND/OR
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTEREST IN THE SDS

A. Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

[REDACTED] (c)

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Source learned during December, 1967, that the SDS Educational Center, 630 North Racine Avenue, Chicago, was a subscriber to the "People's World." (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

The "People's World" is a West Coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California. (u)

B. Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

[REDACTED] (c)

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[REDACTED] (c)

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**V. BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING
INDIVIDUALS PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED
IN THIS REPORT**

JANE ADAMS

Source advised that at the SDS National Conference held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, during June, 1966, JANE ADAMS was elected as National Secretary of SDS for a tenure of only two months. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED] b7D

BETTINA APTHEKER

Source advised that APTHEKER is currently a member of the CP, USA National Committee. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED] /68) b7D

GREG CALVERT

Source advised that on July 19, 1966, at a planning meeting for the proposed DCA held in Chicago, Illinois, GREG CALVERT from the National Office of SDS was present. At this meeting CALVERT stated that he could not endorse the proposed DCA National Action in Washington, D.C., for August 27-28, 1966, which would include a march on the White House or some other office, for his organization, but he would encourage the local Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) to support it and that he would personally work in SDS in support of the Action. (u)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
(CG T [REDACTED] b7D
[REDACTED] (u)

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[REDACTED] (C) (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

Source advised that prior to the SDS National Convention held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25-30, 1967, GREG CALVERT was the National Secretary of SDS. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

CARL DAVIDSON

Source advised that prior to the SDS National Convention held at Ann Arbor June 25-30, 1967, CARL DAVIDSON was the National Vice President of SDS. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

RENNIE DAVIS

Source advised that during the latter part of 1967, RENNIE DAVIS travelled to North Vietnam where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF). (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] 1/68) b7D

THORNE DREIER

Source advised that THORNE DREIER as of March 31, 1968, was then one of the SDS leaders at The University of Texas, that DREIER is not a Marxist, and that he has no ties with the CP. (u)

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BERNARD FARBER

Source advised that during August, 1965, FARBER was in attendance at a CP of Illinois Youth School. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] 8/65) b7D

BOB GOTTLIEB

[REDACTED] (c)

(CG T- [REDACTED] 4/47) b7D

[REDACTED] (c)

(CG T- [REDACTED] 4/47) b7D

STEVE HALLIWELL

Source advised on [REDACTED] that HALLIWELL had recently travelled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he attended a conference with representatives from North Vietnam and the NLF. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] (c)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

CG 100-40903

MIKE JAMES

Source advised that on March 25, 1967, a peace march and rally was held in Chicago, Illinois, which was sponsored by various peace and civil rights organizations. During the demonstrations, MIKE JAMES, who was introduced as a SDS leader, spoke and urged that draft eligible youths defy the draft and called for continued protests and sit-in demonstrations on every campus protesting the Vietnam war. JAMES added that the poor must be organized in opposition to the military-industrial complex. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED] b7D)

JEFFREY JONES

Under a suitable pretext on November 20, 1967, it was determined that JEFFREY JONES has been a member of SDS for nine months and is a member of the New York Regional Coordinating Committee of SDS. (u)

CLARK KISSINGER

Source advised that CLARK KISSINGER, National Secretary of SDS, in addressing the SDS National Conference on June 13, 1965, presented a program called "Kissinger's Project" or "Kissinger's Kamikaze." (u)

In presenting this program, KISSINGER proposed that SDS members deliberately violate the Espionage Act of 1917, certain provisions of the Smith Act of 1940, and specific sections of the Code of Military Justice, by entering United States military bases and passing out leaflets which would demoralize men in the armed forces and which would suggest that the members of the armed forces should desert and further adopt devious means of avoiding service and direct participation in the Vietnam war. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED] b7D)

Source advised that CLARK KISSINGER was observed in attendance at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA held in New York City during June, 1966. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED] b7D)

CG-100-40903

MARK KLEIMAN

Source advised that during the period July-August, 1965, MARC KLEIMAN attended several meetings of the Young Socialist Alliance-Los Angeles Branch (YSA-LAB) which were held in Los Angeles, California. (u)

[REDACTED] (c)

(CG T-

b7D

[REDACTED] (u)

[REDACTED] (c)

(CG T-

b7D

JACK KLING

Source advised that JACK KLING is currently a member of the CP of Illinois State Board and is also currently a member of the CP, USA National Committee. (u)

(CG T-

b7D

KAREN KOONAN

On April 4, 1966, source advised that one KAREN JO KOONAN attended a Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) Youth Section Conclave at San Juan Capistrano, California, on April 1-3, 1966. (u)

(CG T-

b7D

CG 100-40903

(CG T [REDACTED])

b7D (C)

JOHN MAHER

Source advised that JOHN MAHER has been active in the May 2nd Movement (M2M) at Harvard University and had been attempting to organize the M2M at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Boston University during February and March, 1965. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] 3/65)

b7D

CARL OGLESBY

On [REDACTED], source advised that CARL OGLESBY was the former National President of SDS. (u)

(CG T [REDACTED])

b7D

ROBERT M. PARDUN

(CG T [REDACTED])

b7D (C)

BOB ROSS

(CG T [REDACTED] 1/65)

b2D (C)

CG 100-40903

JOHN ROSSEN

The "Chicago Daily News," issue of January 16, 1962, in an article captioned "An Inside Look at Castro in Chicago," described ROSSEN as having founded the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) Chicago Chapter, in June, 1960, and being its current chairman. The article stated further he was a CP candidate for Mayor of St. Louis, Missouri, in 1941; was a CP organizer and extolled communism; admitted he quit the CP in 1956 when Russia interfered with the Hungarian uprising and in 1957, he pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing when questioned regarding this affiliation with the CP. (u)

[REDACTED] (S)

(CG T- 5/66) b7D

JEFF SEGAL

[REDACTED] (S)

(CG T- 11/64) b1D

Source advised that one of the main speakers at the May Day Rally Celebration of the CP held in Chicago on May 1, 1966, was JEFF SEGAL. (u)

(CG T- 5/66) b7D

JEFF SHERO

Source advised on [REDACTED] that JEFF SHERO, who has been active in SDS at Austin, Texas, in the past, was presently in Russia for the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED]) b7D

CG 100-40903

EARL SILBAR

b1 [REDACTED] (c)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

ANDREW RAKOCHY

- The October-November, 1966, issue of "Progressive Labor," published by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), lists RAKOCHY (mentioned above) as the midwest representative of PLP. (u)

LEE WEBB

b1 [REDACTED] (c) (u)

(CG T- [REDACTED] b7D

CATHY WILKERSON

The "NLN" in its issue of June 26, 1967, listed WILKERSON as editor of "NLN." (u)

CG 100-40903

APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR) maintains headquarters in Rooms 601-603, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A third source advised on May 15, 1967, that the original stated purposes of the CCDBR continue to be adhered to, with CRILEY continuing as the motivating force behind the Committee. The Board of Directors, however, now includes many individuals in the religious, educational and labor fields who are not known as CP members.

CG 100-40903

APPENDIX

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE,
CHICAGO CHAPTER

A source advised in October, 1960, that the Chicago Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) was formed during the summer of 1960 at Chicago, Illinois, under the direct guidance and leadership of RICHARD CRILEY, a member of the State Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

A second source in August, 1960, furnished a leaflet entitled "What Is Really Happening in Cuba?" distributed by the FPCC in Chicago. The aims and purposes of the FPCC as set forth in this leaflet include the following: "To disseminate the truth, to combat untruth; to publish and distribute factual information which the United States mass media suppresses. In general, to contribute to foundations for peace, friendship, and understanding between ourselves and the Cuban people." The leaflet reflects the FPCC plans to accomplish these aims: "By mailing of information bulletins; organizing public meetings and forums; providing speakers, movies, and slides for meetings of interested organizations, placing ads in newspapers; to visit Cuba and see for themselves what conditions really are."

A third source advised on March 9, 1964, that there has been no activity of the FPCC in Chicago since late November, 1963, and for all intents and purposes the organization is defunct.

The mailing address for the FPCC, Chicago Chapter, is Post Office Box 4474, Chicago 80, Illinois.

APPENDIX

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening in Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. CHARLES A. SANTOS-BUCH identified himself and ROBERT T. TABER as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and TABER obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 20, 1963, a second source advised that VINCENT "TED" LEE, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that LEE believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. LEE did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.

(U)

APPENDIX

The November 23, 1963, edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief public relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator DODD was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

The December 27, 1963, edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-CASTRO FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-CASTRO street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-CASTRO American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by CASTRO's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin LEE H. OSWALD.

On February 6, 1964, the previously mentioned second source advised that V. T. LEE had recently remarked that the FPCC was dead and that there were no plans to organize another similar organization.

On April 13, 1964, a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved. (u)

CG 100-40903

1

APPENDIX

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M), formerly known as the May 2 Committee, was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party. (4)

APPENDIX

1

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 193 concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly ***. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1958, p. 12.)"

APPENDIXPROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life—where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared. (u)

CG 100-40903

1
APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (u)

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

(u)

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

CG 100-40903

SECRET

W.F.H. DU TOUS CLUB
OF CHICAGO, ILL.

On May 1, 1964, a meeting of the W.F.H. Club of Chicago, 30, 1964, a group of W.F.H. members who attended the 1964 convention of the W.F.H. District Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a resolution to form a local chapter of the DCA as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A source advised on May 1, 1964, that DCA chartered a local chapter in Chicago, the W.F.H. Club of Chicago and the Kerib Club of Chicago. The source also advised that the DCA has a central office in Chicago for the DCA and the W.F.H. Club of Chicago is a club in this area.

The source also advised that the majority of DCA members are the members of the DCA.

On the last year DCA has been very active in the Chicago area.

(u)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-
LOS ANGELES BRANCH

On May 5, 1966, a source advised that in February, 1959, an unnamed organization was formed in Los Angeles by youth members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to support the newspaper "Young Socialist" (YS). This organization was formed as a result of the National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters held in Detroit, Michigan, in December, 1958, where a loose national organization was created around the YS with headquarters in New York City.

The organization remained unnamed, although commonly referred to as the Los Angeles Committee of Young Socialist Supporters (LACYSS) until February, 1960, when they adopted the name Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

A second National Conference of YS Supporters was held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at which the national organization YSA was created. The YSA at Los Angeles is an integral part of the national organization and receives its directives from YSA Headquarters in New York City.

The YSA in Los Angeles is actually the youth organization of the SWP and follows the SWP aims and purposes to the letter.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (u)

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

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CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40903

Chicago, Illinois
February 8, 1968

Title STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY

Character INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS

Reference Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] dated and captioned
as above at Chicago.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

February 5, 1968

Federal Bureau of Investigations
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am president of a high school Parent Teachers Organization in the city of Chicago. Recently a few students invited, "The Students For a Democratic Society", to address a number of the students. As a parent I objected to this group on the basis of information I had read in the local newspapers. I would greatly appreciate any factual information you might have in your files relative to the said organization, such as their aims, purposes, the caliber of the leaders, and the membership.

Thank you for your consideration, I am

Sincerely,

b7c

Chicago, Illinois 60620

When in the City of Chicago, Illinois

EX-109

REC-20

100-439048-2211

FEB 18 1968

ACK: 2/14 JBT:8

CORRESPONDENCE

February 9, 1968

REC-20

100-439048-2211

FEB 09

Chicago, Illinois 60620

Dear [REDACTED]

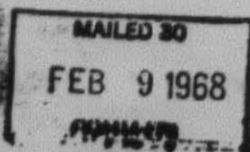
In response to your letter of February 5th, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962.

This association of young people has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status and denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam. It also seeks to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed on May 14, 1965, by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At its national convention in June, 1965, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. I am enclosing some material concerning this organization for your further information.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosures (2)
LEB Introduction 2-67
Turbulence on the Campus

54 FEB 9 1968 Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JBT:cs (3)

Date of Mail

2/5/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

*Students for a
Democratic Society*

Removed By

99FEB 21 1968

File Number

100-439041-2242

Permanent Serial Charge Out

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 12 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

621 PM DEFERRED 2/12/68 RSM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS- SDS.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (UC) CHAPTER OF SDS WILL SPONSOR DEMONSTRATION TWO THIRTY PM FEB. THIRTEEN NEXT, AT BUSINESS EAST BUILDING ON UC CAMPUS, PROTESTING UNIVERSITY'S COOPERATION WITH INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSIS (IDA). UNIVERSITY'S COUNCIL OF FACULTY SENATE WILL VOTE FEB. THIRTEEN NEXT WHETHER OR NOT UNIVERSITY WILL CONTINUE ITS RESEARCH IN CONNECTION WITH IDA.

SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY, USA, AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING THROUGH ESTABLISHED SOURCE. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC

TUP

XEROX
FEB 21 1968

EX 108

REC 27

69

cc - Morgan

FEB 14 1968

b1

WMS

MP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 19 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

SECRET

FBI CHICAGO

532PM DEFERRED 2-13-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS- SDS.

REMYTEL FEB TWELVE LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CHAPTER
SDS (UC-SDS) HELD DEMONSTRATION BUSINESS EAST BUILDING ON UC
CAMPUS BEGINNING THREE PM TODAY. DEMONSTRATION HELD IN PROTEST
OF UNIVERSITY'S COOPERATION WITH INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSIS
(IDA). APPROXIMATELY THIRTYSIX INDIVIDUALS PARTICIPATED IN
DEMONSTRATION CONSISTING OF PICKETS CARRYING SIGNS READING "IDA
HELPS U.S. KILL BETTER EVERYWHERE" AND "UC GET OUT OF IDA." ALSO
FACT SHEET PUBLISHED BY UC-SDS DISTRIBUTED REQUESTING BAIL MONEY
FOR INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT INCIDENTS AT
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA.

EX-113

REC 11

100-439048-2214

SOURCE STATED DEMONSTRATION PEACEFUL AND WITHOUT INCIDENT,
TERMINATING THREE FIFTY PM.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED FEB 19 1968 FOLLOWS.

END

BAP

62 FEB 19 1968

FEB 19 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Exempt from GDS, Category 1
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SECRET

11-8-78 SP/DT

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith

SAC, Chicago (100-4903)

February 13, 1968

Director, FBI (100-439048)

1 - [REDACTED] b7C
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COMINFIL OF THE
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)
IS - C

b7E

You are authorized to [REDACTED] for the use of the
Bureau. You should continue to [REDACTED]
to the Bureau marked to the attention of the Research-
Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

b7E

The Bureau should be advised 30 days prior to the

b7C, E

- 1 - Int. Sec. (Route through for review)
- 1 - NIS (Route through for review)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

AMB:st
(12)

b7C, E

NOTE: [REDACTED] by SA [REDACTED] Int. Sec. -- this
desk handles the SDS which has become the leader of
the so-called "New Left" groups.

[REDACTED]
very necessary to supervision of this desk. Also
requested by SA [REDACTED] NIS. [REDACTED]

REC 11 100-439048-2215

19 FEB 15 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 2
FEB 13 1968
COMM-FBI

59 FEB 21 1968
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

pay
mmb

Date of Mail

2/13/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

*Students For a
Democratic
Society*

Removed By

99 MAR 5 1968

File Number

100-439048-2216

Permanent Serial Charge Out

100-439048-2217

CHANGED TO

105-167601-9

APR 3 1968/74

mt/mr

Date of Mail

2/14/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Removed By

99 MAR 5 1968

File Number

100-439048-2218

Permanent Serial Charge Out

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/14/68

FROM : *NUB* LEGAT, PARIS (100-2695) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - General *Theriot*

b1

Remyairtel to Bureau 12/18/67, captioned "GREGORY ALAN CALVERT, SM - MISCELLANEOUS."

b1 [REDACTED]

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
1 - Paris
JFF:eim
(4)

CLASSIFIED BY *1482 SGM/LS*
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY *2/23/88*
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
para 2

REC-40

EX-105

100-439048-22

RG
FEB 23 5 12 PM '68

18 FEB 19 1968

62 FEB 26 1968

INJECT DIA
REC-40

IN SEC



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F.B.I.

Date: 2/16/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain-text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority & Method of Mailing)

~~SECRET~~

To: Director, FBI

From: Legat, Mexico City (105-5047) (P)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - *75112*
(SDS)
IS - C

CLASSIFIED BY *1412 Jm/ps*
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY *1, 2, 3*
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Data marked C = S otherwise U

ENCLOSURES

CIA

[REDACTED]

REFERRED
TO CIA
B1
B3
per
CIA

Re Mexico City cables dated 2/14/68 and 2/15/68.

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

CIA

RECEIVED
TO CIA
B1
B3
per
CIA

- 6 - Bureau (Enc. 3)
 (1 - Liaison Section)
 (1 - Chicago)
 (1 - WFO)

1 - Mexico City
RJG:imt
(7)

*cc - info
to WFO for
action TCG
for info
2-20-68
WFO*

100-439048-2220

REC-68 FEB 19 1968
EX-113

J. J. Bishop

FEB Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

MEX 105-5047

SECRET

CIA

RECEIVED

TO
CIA

SI

BT

ALL
CIA

Citizenship and Passport Unit, American Embassy advised that when they receive authorization from the Department of State to validate travel to Cuba, an appropriate entry is made in the passport by a special typewriter which is used only for making entries in passports. The entry usually reads "Valid for one round trip to Cuba" together with the date, place, and signature of the authorizing official. No rubber stamp is used. The printed word "No" on the restriction page is not crossed out since the passport becomes invalid for travel to Cuba as soon as the authorized trip is complete. A circular rubber stamp is used by the Department of State to cancel the reader from one page to another in the passport. Posts utilizing passports follow similar procedure.

RECEIVED

TO STATE

EDITH STENSBY was unaware whether the passport office in Washington, D.C., uses an imprinting device to affix the circular rubber facsimile stamp. It is noted that the stamp is quite different from the authorizing stamp used by the State Department to authorize travel.

SECRET

2220

MEX 105-5047

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] (C)
One copy is being directed to Chicago where the
headquarters of the loosely organized SDS is located
[REDACTED] (C)
[REDACTED] (C)

REFERRED
TO CIA

61

ES

LIA

~~SECRET~~

2220